Vol. XXX. No. 120 *December 1941*

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An Irish Quarterly Review

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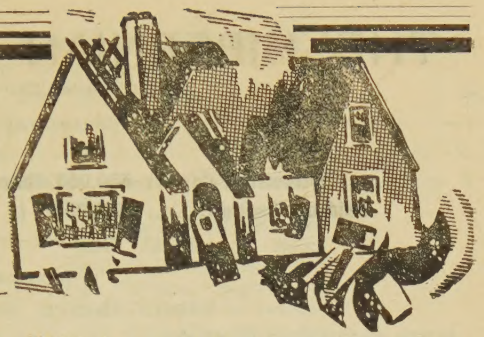

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 28th day of July, 1941.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1941, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£32,232 19 3	
To which has to be added :—		
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	27,607 14 11	
	£59,840 14 2	
The Directors recommend that the balance available be applied as follows, viz. :—		
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	£27,500 0 0	
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000 0 0	
To next Account	27,340 14 2	
	£59,840 14 2	

The Reserve Fund remains at £740,000.

By Order of the Board,

GEORGE ROCHE,
General Manager

DUBLIN 10th July, 1941.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.

BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1941.

Dr. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—500,000 Shares of £4 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £1 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,523,610 6 3
,, Reserve Fund	740,000 0 0	,, Investments, viz.:—	
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0		War Loan, National Loans, and other Government Stocks, (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding, as per Contra)	5,342,805 19 3
Less: Held by the Bank ... 31,269 0 0	518,731 0 0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	172,115 11 8
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,196,922 16 9		£7,038,531 17 2
,, Profit and Loss Account ...	59,840 14 2	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	5,825,215 5 6
		,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 56 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	151,747 8 3
	£13,015,494 10 11		£13,015,494 10 11

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1941.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Dividend to be paid in August, 1941, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £27,500 0 0		By Balance from last Account ...	27,607 14 11
,, Bank Premises Account ... 5,000 0 0		,, Net Profit for Half-year after payment of Expenses of Management including Directors' Fees (£2,000) and providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts, Revenue Taxes, Contingencies, and all other outlay	32,232 19 3
,, Balance to next Acct. 27,340 14 2	59,840 14 2		
	£59,840 14 2		£59,840 14 2

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1941, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
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DUBLIN, 10th July, 1941.

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VOL. XXX No. 120

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An Irish Quarterly Review

DECEMBER 1941

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BY REV. DENIS O'KEEFFE, M.A.

Professor of Ethics and Politics, University College, Dublin

DR. MICKLEM'S recent book, *The Theology of Politics*,[1] has great significance. It makes, indeed, no claim to be either an original or a complete treatment of the problems it discusses. The author modestly urges that he has " written nothing learned or original or technical." He wishes to expound some simple principles which are of " urgent relevance to the present turn of history." But his book seems to me to be significant, because the political theory which it expounds—apart from a curious misunderstanding of the Catholic view on marriage—is the political theory which has become traditional in the Catholic schools. The writer is convinced that " there is a *philosophia perennis*, an abiding wisdom, a body of sound principles, which comes to us through Plato and Aristotle and Cicero and St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas."

It is surprising how seldom the political philosophy of the Catholic Church has secured commendation from English thinkers. Of course it has been very rarely understood, from the days when Hobbes—who had some acquaintance with the writings of St. Robert Bellarmine—made his celebrated jibe about the " kingdom of darkness," " this great ecclesiastical dominion " (the Papacy), as " the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof " down to more recent times when a cynic suggested that, having read the *Syllabus* with entire approval, he found that what commended themselves to him were the condemned propositions. To go into the reasons for this would be to study the history of the centuries. Commonly Catholic principles have been regarded as reactionary and narrow, as opposed to liberty and the modern State, as propounding

[1] *The Theology of Politics*. By Nathaniel Micklem, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. Oxford University Press. 1941. 7s. 6d.

some system of priestcraft and endeavouring to impose shackles on the free movements of the human spirit.

Everyone is familiar with this kind of self-satisfied and triumphant polemics. Usually it was based on dissatisfaction with the activities of ecclesiastical diplomatists rather than on any familiarity with the political principles of Catholic philosophers. Perhaps conditions are more favourable now for an unbiassed consideration of Catholic political theory, because it is thought that ecclesiastical pretensions have diminished and still more because men have come to realise that christian civilisation is fighting for its life. The fact is that it is always so fighting; and the hope, in the natural order, of its survival must rest on its sane and vigorous system of political ideas.

I refer to the traditional political principles as Catholic political theory because this philosophy, although it claims to be, and is, a matter of reason and so makes its appeal to every reasonable man, has, as a historical fact, grown up among Catholic philosophers and theologians. The Catholic Church is a religious system, but it implies and has developed a philosophy, an ethics, a social theory, a political theory. These theories are a slow growth of time. New problems constantly arise, the emphasis of speculation and of controversy constantly shifts, and the task of thought never is and never can be completed. But in political theory, as in philosophy generally, there are certain established principles which constitute an abiding philosophy. For there is no escape from the conviction that there can be no philosophy at all unless some principles are at once ascertainable with certainty and unalterable by any vicissitudes of experience.

What those principles are in the sphere of political theory is obvious enough now, although political philosophy, owing to historical circumstances, was a very slow growth. The strength of Catholic theory comes first, of course, from its truth and sanity, for this must be the ultimate appeal of any speculative theory. Its roots are deep in human nature. Through its slow growth it has a secular quality—"the eye of experience." But is has also a curious and unique detach-

ment from passing historical circumstances. The objection often made to the theologians of the sixteenth century that they invented political theories to suit the circumstances of the time is peculiarly inept. Their theories were in fact entirely traditional. In St. Thomas, at an earlier period, it is almost impossible to discover any reference to the political conditions of the thirteenth century. He is entirely detached, impersonal, objective, logical. His interests are philosophical and theological. He views the State *sub specie aeternitatis*. Unfortunately he has left us no systematic exposition of his political philosophy. Only the first book of the *De Regimine Principum* and a part of the second book can make any claim to be genuine. And even this claim is not universally admitted.[1] His unfinished commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* is purely expository and aims merely at making clear the meaning of the text. His political views have to be gathered from occasional references in his theological writings. It is particularly surprising that there is no connected treatment even of the problem of Church and State, the great controversial problem of the Middle Ages.

It would not be possible here to trace the growth of that common group of principles which have come, in political theory, to be accepted by Catholic thinkers. It may be interesting, however, to refer to some of them in a passing way. Perhaps the most remarkable difference between the Christian and the pagan social systems is the conviction that the State is neither absolute nor all-embracing. The most important sphere of human experience—religion—falls outside the direct scope and competence of the State. Again, the State is limited by Natural Law and by the rights of the family and the individual. In the general scheme of justice the State plays an important part, but still only a part. The State is a natural and perfect society. It does not arise from human convention or agreement. Its form must be regarded as largely relative to historical conditions. No form of State-organization which is fairly built on justice, which respects

[1] Jos. Ant. Endres in *Cl. Baeumker u. Georg von Hertling: Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Supplementband.*

Natural Rights and endeavours to realise the common good can be declared to be unlawful. All political power comes from God. And whether it comes directly to the governing power or directly to the general body of the people and through it to the government, it is in neither case absolute. There is no divine right to govern wrongly. The State is set in the framework of justice, and if it neglects justice it is, in the words of St. Augustine, merely a system of organized brigandage. *Remota justitia, quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia.*

What is most fundamental in the christian system—and this was realized from the very beginning—is the fact that the State is not absolute or omnicompetent or totalitarian. The State has a definite competence corresponding to its function. Men must render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, but they must obey God rather than man or any society of men. The State does not include the whole sphere of human experience or culture. It is not as wide as human society. For the Catholic it is not even the widest society, nor can it claim his deepest and most intense loyalty. Everything is not in the State and for the State. If the State is a natural *societas perfecta*, the Church is a supernatural *societas perfecta.* The one is concerned with the natural end of man, with the common good, the other with the supernatural end, eternal salvation.

This claim to an independent and higher life had vast historical significance. It shook the individual loose from the worst because the most pervasive of all tyrannies. As political theorists we are not concerned with the various forms which the claims made by churchmen assumed at different periods of history. A bewildering variety of opinions on the competence of Church and State may be found in ecclesiastical and secular writers. What is vital for theory is that the claim to be independent in certain respects of the State—which the individual could only make for himself feebly and ineffectively—was made effectively by the organized society of the Church. Out of this claim, or rather within it, developed the theory of Natural Rights. There were traces of this theory in the ancient world, but the mature theory is obviously a

result of christian influence. This is the pivotal doctrine of christian politics. And it cannot be doubted that historical experience, and in particular recent experience, has amply demonstrated that, apart from the belief in Natural Rights, it is impossible to resist the encroachments of the organized State upon the liberties of the individual, the family and the lesser societies.

The theory of Natural Rights is entirely misunderstood if it is taken to be a theory of *individual* rights. It is in fact a theory of the mutual, interlinked and organized rights and duties of the individual, the family, the lesser groups and the State. The reasons why this doctrine of Natural Rights, after having secured a dominant position in the later eighteenth century, receded in the nineteenth are too complicated for a brief discussion. Regarded as a bulwark against governmental tyranny, Natural Rights were often asserted in a onesided and extravagant fashion. They became associated, in many minds, with atomistic and individualistic theories which supposed that the State originated in a pooling of individual resources, although it is evident that the State has rights and competencies which could not come from such a source. Again, Natural Rights were thought to be indefinite, difficult to define, relative to some particular stage of civilisation or culture. The doctrine in the hands of revolutionaries seemed explosive, anarchical, destructive of the accumulated results of long ages of political development. Claims to base the relations of the State and the individual upon absurd and vague rights, like the supposed right to liberty, were felt to be incompatible with any settled social order. Men have rights to certain *liberties* which are essential to their physical and moral life, but a right to liberty as such in the abstract is an absurdity. Much harm was done by grandiose documents mixing up legitimate Natural Rights with positive rights conceded by the State and relative to some particular stage of political civilisation. A right to liberty of the press, for example, could have no meaning in a primitive stage of culture.

And yet the theory of Natural Rights, even in these crude

forms, was entirely superior to the theories that became dominant in the nineteenth century. The Hegelian theory was frankly absolutist. It allowed of no individual or group claims or pretensions against the State. Moreover the State according to this theory is the widest possible form of organized human society. Utilitarianism reduced all rights and all duties to expediencies or utilities. All rights, Bentham taught, are bestowed by the State on the individual. It is expedient that many of these rights should be so granted by the State, because this makes for the general good in the sense of general pleasure. But rights are not ultimate, inherent and irresistible claims. "No right is worth a straw," John Morley wrote, "apart from the good that it brings, and claims to right must depend not upon nature, but upon the good that the said rights are calculated to bring to the greatest number." This sounds very well, but since it is in practice impossible to work out what does or does not bring the greatest good to the greatest number, the theory affords no guarantee against tyranny. It is not without significance that the Austinian theory of sovereignty grew up within the Utilitarian school.

Rights and duties are correlative, and rights resemble duties in this that they are unanalysable into anything simpler than themselves. They both spring from human nature; they are in no sense arbitrary, but are an expression of what human nature should be at the highest stage of its development. They are intrinsically evident in themselves, although the precise limits of duty or right in the concrete may be difficult to determine. In their totality they form a system which constitutes the moral order of the world. This moral order of duties and rights may not be evident in all its details to everybody any more than the details of mathematics are so evident. This is where philosophical analysis is of value. Rights are parts of man's essential equipment. "He has been endowed by God with many and varied prerogatives: the right to life, to bodily integrity, to obtain the necessary means of existence; the right to tend towards his ultimate goal in the path marked out for him by God; the right of association and the right to possess and use property. Just

as matrimony and the right to its natural use are of divine origin, so likewise are the constitution and fundamental prerogatives of the family fixed and determined by the Creator."—(Pope Pius XI : Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*).

Similarly the State itself has Natural Rights, since man is by nature a political animal. It is not a human invention, an artificial device to secure ends outside itself like the preservation of nationality or race. The idea, often erroneously attributed to St. Augustine [1] and sometimes used in the polemics of the early Middle Ages, that the State is due to sin and would not exist but for the fallen nature of man, was never a theory of the great theologians. St. Bonaventure (who is in the Augustinian tradition) agrees with St. Thomas that the organized State is natural to man and would have existed even if man had never sinned.

It has been the task of the Church in times of anarchy to uphold legitimate authority and, when authority has been overstressed, to stand for the rights of the individual and the family. There is a certain psychological fascination in extreme views, in ideas like nationality which are highly charged with emotion, in concepts like liberty and equality which appeal to men's generous feelings, in those great apocalyptic systems which promise mankind a remedy, however remote, for all its ills. Experience has shown, nevertheless, that Christian political doctrine, because of its insight into the meaning and value of human life, can successfully compete in any world of ideas. All political questions, as Mr. Micklem tells us, are at bottom theological. Moreover the political systems which sway mankind commonly assume the form of religions. But error and illusion wear out with time, and truth tends to be more enduring stuff. "The Church is an anvil that has worn out many hammers."

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[1] See Otto Schilling : *Die Staats-und Sociallehre des hl. Augustinus.* Schilling shows that this view rests on a misinterpretation of a passage in the *De Civitate Dei.*

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

BY SENATOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

WHEN Matthew Arnold published his *Culture and Anarchy* in 1867 he found it necessary, in his opening pages, to defend himself against the severe criticism of John Bright and Frederic Harrison, who denounced him for wasting time on so absurd and useless a subject. It is said that Arnold's urbanity caused his unfavourable comments on the cultural condition of mid-Victorian England to escape being widely resented. On the other hand it is hard to believe that his Oxfordian use of the word " culture " and his definition of it as " sweetness and light " can have done much to make it more popular. He certainly did not spare the self-esteem of those to whose " vulgarity, hideousness, ignorance and violence " he so candidly drew attention. In his time the word " culture " was a newcomer in the English language; he himself imported it, along with its correlative term " Philistine," from German, where Leibniz had acclimatised it over a century and a half earlier. Everyone who remembers the propaganda of the last war knows the meaning of " Kultur." In Germany the word soon acquired a nationalistic significance from the theorists of the Romantic movement. Arnold identified it rather with the spirit of the Renaissance, and again and again emphasised its Hellenic connotation.

Bright and Harrison were in no way original in their objection to Arnold's insistence on the importance of culture, and their opinion is still widely shared. The reaction against culture goes back as far as the fourth century B.C., when Diogenes the Cynic made it the chief ingredient in his revolutionary gospel. Not unlike ourselves, the Greeks were at all times conscious of their superiority to their forbears, but until Diogenes came with his " trans-valuation of all values " they were for the most part content to emphasise the moral danger of progress. The ancient world may be said to have grown up in the fifth century B.C., when the great Sophists

propagated the notion that men should be deliberately educated to take their part in society. Side by side with the offer of education we find a tendency to dwell on the state of nature from which man had gradually raised himself, and now and again half-serious proposals to solve the social problem by returning to it. But Diogenes and his disciples were the first to carry such ideas to their logical conclusion, and through their agency it became almost a fashion in late antiquity to despise the artificialities of civilisation.

The wholesale return of Europe at the time of the Renaissance to ancient ideas led inevitably to the revival not alone of Graeco-Roman culture but of the self-criticism which it carried within it. When Descartes declared that there is no more need for a person of quality to know Greek and Latin than Swiss or Low Breton, he may have been in part at least influenced by the Platonic opposition to the traditional literary education in vogue at Athens. There can be less doubt in the case of Rousseau, whose *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts* gained the applause of the most polished French society for the thesis that letters, arts, science, and culture in general are all alike proofs and causes of corruption. However indirect it may have been, there was certainly a connection between Rousseau and the Cynics. Rousseau in his turn has had an immense influence even on people who have scarcely heard of his name. The best tribute to his power in this respect is the statement by a famous German professor a few years ago that " we live in a time which is tired of culture."

There are few more ambiguous words in any language than the words " culture " and " education." It is natural to suppose that whatever things they stand for are in some way interconnected, and that the second word ought to mean the imparting of what is meant by the first. Under the influence of the anti-cultural movement, of which Rousseau has been the modern champion, their relations have however for a long time tended to be paradoxical. As the word " education " is now very frequently used, it can imply the complete absence of all culture in any sense. On the other hand, modern

science has revealed the existence all over the world of " cultures " which involve nothing that we should call education at all. If a phrase like " technical education " could be translated into Greek in its full meaning of training in mechanical processes, it would express what to the Greeks, who invented education as we understand it, would have seemed a juncture of incompatibles ; for the Greeks regarded all mechanical training as beneath the dignity of an educated freeman. The Greek word for education was *paideia*, which, while obviously derived from *pais*, a child, implied from the beginning what Matthew Arnold meant by culture. To compare the growth of a plant with the development of a human being was a commonplace in Greek thought from the very earliest times ; it is found in Homer, in Plato, and at its most explicit in one of the minor works of Plutarch. The Latin word *cultura*, however, never meant anything in antiquity but the growing of crops ; it is only in modern times that it has acquired its educational sense and become a necessary word in every language, even in the vocabulary of communism.

To a man like Arnold, " culture " was entirely synonymous with the Greek *paideia* and implied the possession of that traditional complex of knowledge, taste, and manners which has come down with many transformations from Periclean Athens. In over-emphasising its Hellenic character and in decrying the Hebraic element which he found in English Puritan commercialism, Arnold was true to the spirit of the Renaissance, and like many modern writers overlooked the fact that the Hellenic heritage had passed through a long Christian phase in which it was renewed and purified precisely by being compounded with a religion of Jewish origin. In a very true sense the first and greatest Renaissance was this reinvigoration of Hellenism by the Christian Church, which gave the old and already decadent civilisation of Greece a new cultural birth. As used by Arnold, the word " culture " has an almost purely classical or humanistic sense, and the great tragedy of the modern world has been this divorce between humanism and religion, which has revived so many of the evils inherent in pagan society—among them the

strangely irrational reaction of Rousseau and his countless followers against civilisation itself. The humanist as such has a fatal tendency to eliminate Christianity, sometimes to a greater and sometimes to a lesser extent, and to establish a direct line of descent for his beloved tradition from its beginning in Athens. In doing so he leaves an open door for a host of terrible evils, which seem to enjoy a daemonic immortality. It is no accident that the full flowering of the Renaissance saw not only the revival of Ciceronian Latin and the discovery of the digamma but side by side with them the revival, through Macchiavelli and Hobbes, of the most brutal theories of sovereignty based on sheer force, the old "right of the stronger" whose inadequacy was exposed by Socrates in the *Republic* of Plato.

In the strict humanist sense there is only one culture, and that is the artificially-recreated pagan tradition of Hellenism as extended over the East by Alexander and adopted from their "starveling" subjects by the aristocrats of Rome. Now this culture, as studied under the lens of history, had many imperfections to offset its glory, and to these we shall return. At the moment two of its characteristic marks must be emphasised. These are its exclusiveness and its individualism. The first was the consequence of the great superiority of Greek to all earlier cultures and of its immense and abiding attractiveness, which led so many peoples of different origin to embrace it as their own. In the time of Herodotus, the barbarians were still interesting people who spoke strange tongues but some at least of whom, such as the Egyptians, had much to teach the Hellenes. A century later, the word "barbarian" had acquired its derogatory meaning, and the view could be seriously advanced that they were by nature slaves, fit only to be ruled by Greeks. The change came about largely as a result of the introduction of systematic higher education; Aristotle significantly quotes as his authority Euripides, a pupil of the Sophists. Alexander's conquests of course enormously strengthened this exclusiveness, which could not be affected even by the later misfortunes of Greece. It was indeed just while the Roman supremacy

was being extended to its widest that the classic educational system received its final form at the hands of Posidonius of Rhodes, Cicero's fellow-student. In this form it was to dominate the schools of the Roman Empire and be passed on to medieval Christendom as the system of the seven Liberal Arts, which have in turn given its name to the Arts Faculty in our universities.

The individualism which is no less inseparable from the humanist tradition is the product of the same time and circumstances that produced its exclusiveness. Early Greek society was, like all early societies, non-individualist. The city-state was a natural organic whole, bound together by a religious and cultural tradition which transcended the individual citizen and was superior to him. Periclean Athens saw the first appearance, on the world's stage, of individual man as we know him. He was the product once more of the new rational, systematic approach to life of which the Sophists were the first preachers. In another century the old city-state, with its instinctive traditional order and its ancient religious sanctions, had broken down in civil war and moral confusion; and just at that moment the Greek *paideia*, as conceived and systematised by the Sophists and their successors, was carried to the ends of the earth by Alexander's armies. Therewith culture ceased to be the property of a single community. The new world was too vast even to be organised into a single state. What states were formed were accidental and often transient fragments of Alexander's empire, and had no principle of unity or cohesion except loyalty to the person of the dynast—which explains why the dynast so regularly tried to make himself a god.

This collapse of the ancient organic society, which is the great mark of later antiquity, constitutes also its point of closest resemblance to the modern world. In the great cosmopolitan cities of the Hellenistic East, such as Alexandria and Antioch, and, in their western counterpart, imperial Rome, nothing remained except the State, founded on military force, and the individual subject. The well-known efforts of states and cities to equip themselves with new universal

deities like Sarapis or Tyche, and the later attempts of world-rulers to associate themselves with oriental gods like Mithra and the Unconquered Sun, were efforts to fill the void left by the disappearance of the organic localised society to which mankind had always been accustomed. They were only partially and temporarily successful, until Constantine took the providential course of adopting Christianity and thereby gave society a new vital principle. What remained in the meantime was the individual, isolated in a strange competitive world and thrown back on his own resources. On the one hand he sank down into the formless mass which made up the proletariat of the great cities, and on the other he might make his fortune by assimilating successfully the universal culture, the *paideia*, which he now approached from outside instead of growing up within it and forming part of it. This externalisation of culture, as it may be called, persisted in every later period and was very strongly re-emphasised by the Renaissance and the loss of European religious unity which was its sequel. Just as in Hellenistic times, we have to-day a world-wide culture, still of the same Greek origin, with no local focus and no organic social or religious content, having at the same time an effect of attraction and repulsion on the isolated individual. This is the explanation of the "culture-tiredness" to which we have referred; just as in the third century B.C. the world-wide expansion of Hellenism at once explained and justified the growth of Cynicism and its more respectable Stoic counterpart. Nowadays indeed, as has already been suggested, the tendency is strongly reinforced by the revival, in a virulent form, of the Cynic hostility to civilisation.

It will have been seen that the humanist definition of culture is a very special and peculiar one. Even from what has been said about pre-Sophistic Greece it is perhaps possible to arrive at a wider definition, which will escape the exclusiveness and individualism whose origins we have been discussing. This wider definition has of course been put forward many times and on more sufficient grounds during the past century. Although it probably was first suggested

by Herder and the German Romanticists, and applied too narrowly to their concept of the folk and that very artificial entity, the nation, it can now be used to cover phenomena to which these concepts are as irrelevant as the city-state or the world-empire. It is best called the anthropological definition, because it has become more prominent as the result of modern research into the life of primitive societies. In this sense culture is multiple, organic, and social, the natural product, at different times and in different places, of history, tradition, and environment. Humanist enquirers, being pardonably blinded by the splendour and biased by the exclusiveness of their own inheritance, have found it difficult to accommodate themselves to this idea of culture as multiple, in spite of the obvious fact that there have existed many civilisations both prior to and contemporaneous with that of Greece and Rome, and not altogether unworthy of comparison with it. During the past half-century, not only have the great cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, and the Americas been given their rightful place in historical study, but more and more attention has been drawn to the past and present existence, at a lower level than these, of many independent cultures the examination and classification of which has great value from different points of view.

We need not concern ourselves here with the grandiose efforts at a synthetic study of all human cultures made during the last twenty years by writers like Spengler and Toynbee. It will be perhaps sufficient to say that these efforts have made it more possible than ever before to view the history of culture as a whole. They have also opened up innumerable problems, some strictly historical like the dispute between diffusionists and believers in independent evolution, others with a very pertinent interest for the future of the present divided European society. Classical scholars themselves are well aware of the new light, sometimes clear and illuminating, sometimes fitful and illusory, shed by anthropological study on the origin and nature of Hellenic culture itself. Comparative religion and folklore are subjects of vast scope which have expanded enormously our capacity for understanding the

Greek miracle. Even in literature, the supreme manifestation of the Greek genius, while there is no other Homer or Aeschylus or Herodotus, yet the elements they used for their work may be found lying undeveloped in the simpler cultures of the still existing primitive peoples. The effort to grasp the processes by which these simple elements have been transmuted into the unique masterpieces of Greek art has added a new fascination to the study of antiquity, while the hitherto unsuspected aesthetic qualities of the Balinese folk-dances or the magnificent bronzes of the western Sudan have set up new standards of artistic comparison. One very important and tangible result of all this development has been that students of art-history are scarcely nowadays as enthusiastic even about the Parthenon sculptures as Winckelmann was about the Laocoon. In a recent popular book, for example, only one or two works of Greek sculpture like the Ludovisi Throne and the Victory from the balustrade of the Nike-temple at Athens are held up for unqualified admiration. On the other hand poets and prose-writers like Homer and Pindar, Thucydides and Plato, have emerged brighter than ever from the acrid fog of nineteenth-century criticism:

> " vainly thee
> Homer, she meteth with her Lesbian lead."

Be all this as it may, there is one problem raised by the definitive emergence of the anthropological as opposed to the humanist or classical concept of culture to which it is perhaps permissible to call attention in a brief article such as this. A few classical scholars have been tempted by the *réclame* which greeted Spengler's book to throw overboard the whole tradition of humanism and to take refuge in an effort to treat the Hellenic culture objectively as only one out of many similar phenomena. Now this may be all very well for the scientific historian, whose task it is, at least at certain levels of his work, to analyse, compare, and criticise. To the teacher, however, who has as his principal duty the fitting of his pupils to play their part in the life of a given society, such a step can only eventuate in chaos. It would indeed be the final plunge to disaster of the rationalism which is

part of the Hellenic heritage and to which the emergence of the anthropological concept of culture is partially due. If education were to take this course, on which indeed it has gone too far already, the whole vitality of society, as far as it could be affected by organised teaching, would be finally sapped, and science itself would be left more isolated than religion in too many cases is already. There is nothing more certain than that in such a contingency society would have to evolve some new educational forms for its own needs, leaving the scientific tradition high and dry. If it could not do this, it would only infallibly dissolve into a shapeless and decadent barbarism. Already symptoms of this final divorce between traditional culture and society are plain enough, and contempt for culture has almost become an official slogan precisely in communities where this sort of rationalisation has reached its maximum. On the other hand it will no longer do for the custodians of tradition to keep their heads buried in the sand, to go on practising their ancient technique as it was practised in the rhetorical schools of Gaul in the days of Sidonius Apollinaris, and to neglect the signs of doom that are as visible all around them now as they were then.

Apart from its inherent tendency to exclusiveness and individualism, the Hellenic traditional culture has been subject, in all the stages of its long and varied history, to a whole series of weaknesses which these two primary defects kept its exponents from recognising and overcoming. First and most important of all, its religious foundation, which was of course part of its essence, was very defective. Greek paganism, in spite of the misguided enthusiasm it has so often evoked, was in fact a most inferior type of religion, an irregular mixture of popular superstition, poetic fiction, and state-worship, not in the least to be compared with such higher religions as Zoroastrianism or Buddhism or even with the ethical system of Confucius. This weakness was seen by the Greeks themselves; Plato had a vigorous predecessor in this respect in Xenophanes of Colophon; but their unaided efforts at reform were incapable of altering its fundamental character, any more than the higher thought of the Vedanta could really

reform the popular religion of India. Thus Neo-platonism, for all its spendour and its glorious origins, petered out in a hocuspocus of magical theosophy. It was Christianity that gave a genuine religious content to Hellenism and, by so doing, produced the two revivals which eventuated in the cultures of East and West Rome.

A second defect in the tradition was that, from its very beginnings in the fifth century, it was too self-conscious. This quality, which can be clearly seen in Plato's picture of the great Sophist Protagoras, at once weakened its vital connection with the creative popular instinct which had already produced all the masterpieces of Greek poetry before the conscious cultural movement began. The Sophists were the inventors of artistic prose, and their chief artistic product was the barren rhetoric of the schools, which dried up the springs of true inspiration. Plato was aware of this defect also, and tried to remedy it by his own invention of a new art-form half-way between the prose and the poetry he rejected. Unfortunately he also was marked by the same taint of self-consciousness; his very system, with its hierarchy of elaborately-trained scientific governors, was designed to exclude the people as a whole from all higher intellectual activity, and provided no substitute for the organic processes in which poetry had its beginnings. Thus he was the last as well as the first great artist produced by his own school, and his reform ended in the logical juggleries of the later Academy. Here again it was Christianity, by providing the bridge of a real religion between the sage and the people, that restored the instinctive creativeness overlain by the Sophists and made possible a new birth of poetry, without which tradition is lifeless.

A third defect in Hellenic culture was its exclusive devotion, in certain of its phases, to literary expression. This was most obvious in the Roman rhetorical schools, when style, divorced from life, had become an end in itself irrespective of content. It was, however, once more inherent in the teaching of the first Sophists, who boasted that they could make any cause convincing by style alone. Here again

Plato was clearly conscious of the danger, and this was one of his chief accusations against the Sophists as a body. His remedy was to redress the balance by an alliance of beauty in expression with profundity of content, and in this his real successors were the Fathers of the Christian Church. It is curious to reflect that Plato's famous "ancient feud between philosophy and poetry" has had its repercussions inside the Greek tradition from his day to our own. In Roman times, and in one aspect of the Renaissance, style won the upper hand.

In the middle ages and again in our own times science, in widely differing forms, has been supreme over education. Modern scientists have of course been helped in their attack on literature as an educational instrument by the commercialism which has been so highly organised and vocal during the past century. The illusion of "modernity," to which they seem peculiarly liable, often blinds them to the fact that in their attacks on an excessively literary culture they are following in the footsteps of Plato and Socrates. We have here another example of that self-conscious and, ultimately, self-destructive tendency that has always been part of the Greek tradition whatever form it may have taken. The science of the West, to which in so great a degree it owes its conquest of the world, but which by its ruthless application to war now seems in a fair way to destroy civilisation, is of course quite as much a part of its Greek inheritance as is its drama or its philosophy. If the Roman brand of Hellenic culture was too exclusively literary, the triumph of mechanics during the past two centuries, coinciding as it has done with an unprecedented expansion of commerce and of what Aristotle would have called the banausic ethos, has almost ended by making all art impossible—driving the priest and the artist into separate catacombs, as Mr. David Jones has expressed it.

The long lapse of time and the wider and wider extension of culture have between them produced a fourth weakness in its inner nature. What was intense and vital in Periclean Athens naturally became more tenuous when it had to be shared by the Syrian of Apamea or the Gaul of Lyons, not

to speak of the Tatar of Kazan and the racially variegated denizen of modern America. There is of course no question here of racial determinism, but merely of the obvious fact that when a culture is borrowed it inevitably suffers a change in the process, which may be greater or less according to the origin and character of the borrower. We have seen that Western culture is merely the product of a long series of such transmissions of what was originally the native product of a small Greek community. Its receivers in all cases have been at first aristocratic minorities, and as long as their numbers remained comparatively small they have again and again shown that it can be given a vigorous new life in foreign soil. Until the nineteenth century this borrowed culture could be and often was fused with something native and popular with which, after a long process of growth, it could co-exist in complete harmony. This is the origin of most of the popular cultures of Europe. With the Industrial Revolution, however, and the destruction of popular cultures it brought about, the process of adoption had to be widely and rapidly extended over great masses of culturally featureless city-dwellers. The result was the modern emergence of the distinction between the cultured and the philistine, which corresponds in part at least to the ancient distinction between Greek and barbarian—except that the philistine shows a degree of recalcitrance to the reception of culture which was not often shared by his antique counterpart.

A whole new series of weaknesses in the tradition were the result of the so-called Renaissance, which was in fact only one of the many rebirths of Greek culture both in East and West. Apart from the fatal religious fissure which followed on the Renaissance, the revived interest in the artistic aspects of classicism brought with it a dangerous tendency to overestimate the religious value of that paganism which had died of its own weaknesses in the fourth century. Even before the fall of Constantinople, the erratic Platonism of George Gemistos Plethon was a kind of anticipation of the many strange cults that were to flourish in Italy, France, England and Germany from the Renaissance till now. The

Epicureanism of Gassendi, the rhetorical and superficial " rationalism " of eighteenth century France, and the numerous " mysticisms " of nineteenth-century Germany have all been tainted by this contact with the dead. Scarcely less serious has been the pall of unreality which this obsession with a vanished paganism has spread over so much modern literature and art, and which has widened still further the gulf between the cultured few and the uncultured masses. Reactions against this unreality, healthy enough in principle, have also tended to run too far in the eccentricities of the Romantic movement and in the infantile sensationalism of the Surrealists and their kind.

Pride in the splendour of the tradition which has again and again helped to give life and colour to backward societies, and to which we owe so much of what is good as well as of what is bad in our civilisation, should not blind its exponents to these manifold defects. The blame does not all lie with the philistines, who are themselves as much the products of the culture as are the true purveyors of sweetness and light. Over and over again culture in the humanist or external sense has been transmuted into culture in the anthropological or organic sense by the accident of history or by the unconscious genius of the race. At the present moment we see almost the end of the reverse process. By a series of misfortunes, the Hellenic tradition in modern times has come to such a pass that it has nearly made culture an impossibility—we have reached " a time which is tired of culture "—and all the indications are that the next turn of the wheel, whether it brings us to destruction or to a fresh renaissance, will be a painful and protracted ordeal. Is it entirely impossible for us to save ourselves by taking thought—to reorganise our educational systems in such a fashion as will restore the lost unity between what is external and what is organic and native, to close the wide breach between education and culture, and to give back to both of them that religious spirit without which they can have no lasting life? This is the most fundamental question that faces educational reformers everywhere to-day.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

THE EUROPEAN CRISIS AND THE MISSIONS

BY EDWARD LEEN, C.S.SP., D.D., D.LITT.

A PERSON belonging to this generation would be very lacking in historical imagination, were he unable to realise that he is an unwilling spectator of a drama whose dread significance even men of the deepest spiritual insight may perhaps surmise, but cannot possibly comprehend. Neither the huge armies in conflict nor their leaders nor their political chiefs are the real protagonists in this terrifying spectacle. They are but the shadows or, better, the fleshly vesture of the spiritual forces whose tension is working out the great tragedy. A Greek accustomed to see the conflict of unseen and vast powers set forth in the words, gestures and actions of the masked and buskined figures that moved so majestically in the narrow limits of the Attic stage would, perhaps, more easily than we grasp the really superhuman nature of the struggle which is now convulsing the earth ; for the whole world is the stage of this great drama. In the character of its horrors it dwarfs all other tragedies that, in the history of the race, have been staged by the violent passions and perverse wills of men. These others were limited in their range and affected but particular groups and peoples. The whole of mankind is the audience to the theme that is, with the relentlessness of doom, moving to its dread dénouement. Even the most unreflecting must have come to realise that something is now taking place to which human history has no real parallel, even though it may furnish many an image. The invisible forces that, behind the visible events, tread the stage are of colossal proportions, and the outcome of their interplay no man can foretell. All that can be confidently predicted is that the shape of things to come will mockingly contradict the previsions of those who hold that autonomous human reason, after this temporary check, will resume its progress to the full realisation of that satisfactory

human order which hitherto, to their mind, it has been successfully, if laboriously, constructing.

It is saddening in the extreme to consider the gathering flood of disaster which is overwhelming the peoples in depths of suffering : a touch of hopelessness is given to the sadness as it becomes more and more evident that the keepers of the destinies of nations are blind to the causes of the universal ruin. They attribute the woes that have overtaken them to an immediate and accidental conjuncture of historical conditions ; they think that a permanent remedy for these evils can be found in some form of change brought to these conditions ; they are persuaded that salvation lies in the successful defence of the existing order of things against a momentary revolt. But it does not at all occur to them that the causes of the present crisis arise from no accident, but have their source in the very nerve centres of the social and political systems which are now locked in a life and death struggle. For more than three centuries Divine Providence, by object lessons which have gradually become more and more attention-compelling because more painful, has been trying to teach men the errors of their ways. The points in these lessons have been stressed by successive Popes. All has proved to be in vain. The evils of the hour are traced to some short-sighted provisions in the Treaty of Versailles and the overweening ambition of those leaders whose rise to power has been prepared by its political miscalculations. The pronouncements of the heads of the existing governments reveal clearly that not one of them has, even remotely, grasped the implication of the fact that twenty-two years ago a unique and unfettered opportunity was given to the statesmen of the world to bring into being a satisfactory world order. They failed to do so ; the issue of their efforts has been chaos ; and this utter failure of human prudence, which proudly claims that it is all-sufficient to itself and fully competent to secure, unaided, the welfare of men, has in no way discredited human prudence in the minds of those who have succeeded to the treaty-makers of Versailles. This is so true that thoughtful men entertain serious misgivings as to the state

of things after this war. Will the conflict end in another man-made arrangement which will be no advance on the former "peace," but only a preparation for a still more calamitous state of things?

To those who are chiefly moved by material destruction and physical suffering—and all but the very few are of this kind—the war-torn world offers a scene of unmeaning and almost unrelieved horror. The rare persons who, dominating sensibility and imagination, are more concerned about ultimate than immediate issues, find something of sublimity in the spectacle of the vast structure, built up by three centuries of effort, as it reels and rocks to its fall. The late Holy Father was not insensible to the trials and losses that the gathering catastrophe was bringing to the Church, yet he could assert that it was a privilege to be living through the experiences of these present days. Taking his stand on spiritual values, he could survey, with a certain amount of serenity, the final collapse around him of a system of things based on the rejection of those very spiritual values which afforded the Pope himself a secure and unshakable foothold. There is something impressive in watching the slow but relentless movement of false principles working themselves out to their inevitable conclusion. Strangely enough the impression made is not untouched by a kind of intellectual satisfaction in which the spirit finds some compensation for the harrowing experiences of sense and reason. There is a pure joy, wholly free from bitterness and unkindliness, in seeing truth justified in all its ways by the disasters that have been the fruit of error.

The end of things always appears startling and sudden. What is now happening has found European men for the most part unprepared. Thirty years ago or less, what is now the experience of millions would have seemed unthinkable to those reputed to be gifted with the greatest political acumen. To grasp anything rightly one has to see it in proper perspective. We are too close to the mighty events now happening to be able to assign them their true place and space in the complete history of man's fortunes since the beginning of the Christian era. But the philosophy of history that is inspired

by the Faith can do much to supply the unavoidable lack of historical perspective. In the light of that philosophy it can be seen that the suddenness of the present catastrophe is but apparent. It is but a phase, perhaps the final phase, in a process of disintegration which began in the great schism of the sixteenth century. It was not the fact itself of the division that prepared the way for disintegration, but the accident which gave to the party of revolt predominance in shaping European thought. Had the struggle for supremacy gone the other way and had the authentic Christian civilisation prevailed, history would have taken a far different course and the present welter would never have been. To a great Catholic writer and historian the battle between the old Christian thing and the new that challenged it, is judged to have ended in stalemate, each of the contending parties holding to the positions gained as the fury of the first onset spent itself. This is obviously true as regards dogma and political delimitations. Protestant theology gained little or no foothold in France, Spain, Italy and in parts of Germany. The states that represented Catholicity preserved their independence and their territories. But if there be question of the result of the continual action and interaction of the two opposing cultures on each other, the story is different. The Protestant culture affected the Catholic more than the Catholic affected the Protestant.

The prestige of England's prosperity, the influence of German philosophy, the rapid advance in material prosperity of the Protestant peoples, first in the Old World and then in the New, coincident with the decline of the Spanish Power, opened the way for the infiltration everywhere and by a thousand channels of the philosophy of life that was intimately bound up with Protestant dogma. This process, by which the thought of all peoples sharing European civilisation was gradually permeated by values and principles logically at variance with the Christian Faith, was considerably aided by two things. The weakening of the faith in Catholic countries left the minds of those whose task was to organise conditions of life in these countries, an easy prey to the false social

doctrines. In the second place, the Protestant spirit almost wholly captured the world of letters. History was rewritten in such a manner as to discredit the Catholic way and the Catholic ideals of living. The printing presses grew busy and the output of works on all subjects, containing in solution all the new and dissolvent ideas, utterly submerged the quantity of print which preserved the old ways of thought. Even countries most favourably circumstanced to resist the virus were unable to protect themselves completely. Our own country offers a most striking example. In Ireland the struggle for the faith was helped and strengthened by the struggle for national independence. By a fortunate accident the one was intimately bound up with the other. The fight for the faith was wholly successful; the fight for freedom had a measure of success. Yet it is one thing to have the faith; it is another thing to have views of social, political, economic and artistic life logically springing from that faith. It is astonishing to what an extent our views on so-called secular things are coloured by non-Catholic principles of thought. The history, science, and literature as taught in our schools until quite recently were anything but Catholic in inspiration and produced anything but a Catholic mind. If this happened with us, where almost every circumstance favoured the preservation of the truly Christian concept of the universe, it can be easily understood how seriously affected were other countries less fortunately placed. It may be safely said that the modes and habits of thought of the populations brought within the sphere of influence of the English (including the United States) and the German cultures, even when these populations professed the true faith, were to an extent which few could realise impregnated with elements unchristian in their source. The direct consequence of all this was a steady and progressive dechristianisation of the social and political structure of European civilisation. The ruin which we are now witnessing is the inevitable result of all this.

To scarcely anyone three centuries ago, either Catholic or Protestant, could the forces of disruption at present operative appear as contained in embryo in the forces then released.

There were exceptions: St. Thomas More was one. Men were deceived by appearances. Those who broke away from the Church at that time and set about a reconstruction of civilisation did not seem to have broken utterly with tradition. The materials with which they set to build looked outwardly very like the materials of the building that they had rejected. There seemed to be but a modification and a simplification in the articles of belief, and the changes in the ordinary ways of life were scarcely noticeable. Yet the rupture was complete. There is a vital connection between dogma and the way of life of the City of men. Dogma does not determine merely a part of man's life; its sphere of influence is not narrowed to man's other-worldly concerns. It necessarily, because of what it is, traces out a way of life for man as a citizen and a person. Human life is an indivisible thing; it admits of no cleavage into two distinct and unrelated sections, the religious and the secular.

Man may deny this truth or blind himself to it, but it is as indisputable as that God ordained not only what man should believe and how he should worship, but also how he should live out his life on earth in social contact with his fellow men. A knowledge of the economy of God's dealings with man is needed, if one is to have a grasp of the principles according to which man should act as a person and a citizen. Conduct depends on belief and is determined by it. Christianity is the full revelation of the economy of God's dealings with men. Christianity embodies a philosophy of life in all its aspects, personal, social, political and economical. It is concerned not only with man's heavenly welfare but also with his earthly welfare. These two, in fact, are very intimately connected. The philosophy of life behind Christianity is the only perfect philosophy of life. It is only on condition of its principles being adopted in the regulation of human affairs, domestic and public and international, that earthly human welfare can be achieved, as far as it is attainable in actual historical conditions. The moment that the integrity of the Christian revelation is interfered with, at that moment the theory of living based on it suffers corruption, and disorder

is introduced into human affairs. The disorder goes on increasing in proportion to the completeness of the departure from Christian dogma.

The theory of personal and political life which Christianity implies is not opposed to man's nature. On the contrary it is the only theory that is wholly in accord with it. The greatest of the Greek philosophers, following the light of human reason and in the measure that he was faithful to that light, arrived at formulating sound principles on the chief human problems, the problems of personality, property and political government. His views were based on the exigencies of humanity. Christianity took over all that was according to nature in the civilisations of Greece and Rome. It perfected what it took over and, of course, gave to it a different spirit, a loftier character and an end that linked temporal life with the eternal. But, in doing all this, it did not depart in anything from nature. The supernatural necessarily presupposes nature since it is the elevation of it.

To swerve from the theory of living logically in accordance with Christian dogma is to swerve from nature. An outrage on nature is always attended by disastrous consequences. This outrage was perpetrated in the revolt from the Church of large sections of Christian Europe. It is only now that a full perception can be had of what then took place. Those who broke away proceeded to build a social and political system which derived its principles from their beliefs. The materials of the new structure bore a resemblance to those of which the old order had been built up. The resemblance was but in external form and feature. In reality elements had been introduced into the stones of the building which started a process of decomposition. The European order, in so far as it was reared on a repudiation of the Old Religion, was doomed from the beginning. It has taken some hundreds of years, but the end was inevitable. Many of the customs, traditions, institutions and acquired convictions that had their roots in the Old Faith, dragged on a lingering existence. Their survival was helped by the illogicality of men, who habitually do not straightaway push their principles to their

logical conclusions and who cling to social beliefs for a long time after they have rejected their logical basis. The protagonists of the Protestant culture allowed themselves to be ruled, in the organisation of state-life and in international relations, by conventions which were at variance with their own basic principles. The unfortunate thing, or perhaps fortunate, is that this could not last indefinitely. The pressure of historical events, the questionings of critical minds and the violence of men chafing under the wrongs springing from the existing order of things, have worked for the final disintegration of the imposing ruins of a Christian ethos which stood long after the dogmatic foundation of that ethos had been taken away. The imperfect and weakened structure has yielded to the blast of the storm that is sweeping over Europe.

The mutterings of the storm had been heard for a long time. The economic and industrial principles rigidly deducible from the tenets of those who repudiated the authority of the Church, working steadily for decades against the independence of the human person, the stability of the home, and the possibility of widespread proprietorship, gradually robbed the insecure edifice reared by the "Reformers" of any such strength as it had in the beginning. A false economic theory directing the evolution of European society is not, however, the sole cause of the present catastrophe; but because it has played such a considerable part in bringing about that catastrophe, it is easy to understand that it should appear to be the sole operative cause to those who, like Marx, interpret history materially. The process of decay has been continuous and steady but imperceptible. Men lost their faith without realising that they were losing it. Hence there is something extremely pathetic in the spectacle of multitudes, under the influence of a blind but right instinct, now rousing themselves to the defence of Christianity when they have in great part lost all sense of what Christianity means, though not all sense of what it stands for in the life of the person and in the life of society. The pathos is deepened by the consideration that the salvation of a social order, containing in its very constitution the seeds of decay, is impossible. The utmost that

can be done is to stave off the inevitable for a little while longer.

A stable and healthy order of things can exist only when built on the foundations of nature. The only authority competent to trace these foundations and to determine their materials is He Who, by the Author of nature, has been appointed Chief of Humanity. From the spiritual teaching of Jesus alone, taken in its integrity, can be deduced the theory of living which makes for the earthly well-being of the person and of society. There is only One Voice that has power authoritatively to outline that theory—that is, to enunciate the principles which are at the basis of a healthy domestic society, of a just and prosperous state-life, and of the conditions for peace and security in international relations. Since this theory of life is one that accords with right reason, it is one that can be accepted even by those who do not profess allegiance to the Catholic Church. On the other hand it does not follow that one who subscribes to the Catholic faith holds, in practice or even in theory, right views on economic and social and state questions. At the best of times, even when Europe was wholly Catholic, there was but an approximation to the social system logically deducible from the Christian faith. This illogicality, which harmonised the true faith with views on secular questions at variance with conclusions from the faith, became more pronounced in the course of the last three centuries for the reason given above, namely, the preponderant influence on world affairs of the Protestant theory of life. The *ex-cathedra* teaching of the Church on social questions was never of course at fault. But that teaching failed to influence very large numbers of the Church's followers, including the most educated. This is not without its dangers at a time when an extraordinary impetus is being given to the spread of the true faith amongst populations hitherto practically untouched by European thought.

Christian dogma is not something that can remain suspended in the air, detached from this world, like something not having any relation to earth. It must strike its roots deep in man's life as a person and as a member of society. It is far from

being indifferent to the faith what views men should hold in the organisation of their secular life. The vitality of the faith depends on its finding a mode of human life that is in harmony with it and adapted to it. Like a tree its firmness, its growth and its luxuriance depend on its finding a favourable soil. It is part of the task of the missionaries who go forth from European countries for the establishment of the faith in pagan lands, to build up a social and economic system free from the corrosive elements that have finally ruined the European system. The break-up of that system at this time may prove ultimately to have been, in the designs of Providence, an historical event not unfavourable to the fortunes of the Church on earth. The crash of the collapse has aroused those without the Church, and those within as well, to a full realisation of the errors in a system which had come to be taken for granted. There is little danger of the missionaries being tempted to link Christianity with a social order which events have so dramatically discredited.

A study, in the light of faith, of what has happened during the last thirty years seems to justify this view, that the collapse of the European system at this time will not be without good effects for the mission work in pagan lands. Although the elements of dissolution were at work a long time, at the end things hurried to a climax with fearful rapidity. To those living in the year 1912 the state of things that had matured for three and half centuries seemed solidly established. To the men of that time the present state of affairs would have been utterly inconceivable. A rather remarkable phenomenon in the life of the Church coincides with this period. With the same speed with which political Europe was rushing to disaster, the faith began to be diffused amongst the pagan populations. Only those interested in missiology have an idea of the great change that has marked Catholic missionary effort during the past thirty years. The rate of progress has been truly astonishing. Moved by a divine instinct, the last three Popes devoted themselves untiringly to stimulating the entire body of the faithful, clergy and laity, to active zeal for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ. Their efforts

counted for much in the change that has come over the face of things, but that is not the whole explanation. The primary cause is to be traced to a mysterious stirring of the Spirit throughout the whole Church.

An inquiry into the historical beginnings of the Missionary Societies that took their rise in the middle of the nineteenth century, reveals a lamentable state of disorganisation and poverty of effort in the mission fields. The predominance of Protestantism during three centuries, the decay of the empires of Spain and Portugal, the irreligion of France and the apathy of Austria left immense tracts of the non-Catholic world untouched by Catholic missionaries. Things had improved, but only slightly, as the century drew to its close. Even in the year 1900, in spite of the sacrifice and great labours of several missionary congregations, the continent of Africa was but sparsely studded with missionary stations. Before ten years had passed, a change began to come over the scene. The native pagan population, for long impervious to the call of the Gospel, began to yield at last to its appeal. To-day a map of the dark continent in which missionary posts are marked with a cross would show very little space throughout its whole extent unmarked by this sign of consolation. From the coasts—north, south, and especially from the west and the east—the devoted emissaries of a great number of missionary societies have pressed on right into the heart of this immense pagan land. The darkness of paganism that had hung, from the dawn of things, over the land of Cham rapidly rolled back under this onset. Churches, schools and convents have multiplied on all sides. There are now few places whose inhabitants have not had contact with the heralds of Christianity.

Figures are a great help to the imagination in its effort to get a concrete image of what is implied in statements of fact. The statistics of one mission in which the writer actually worked as a missionary will prove interesting ; its development has been mainly due to the labours of Irish priests and nuns. The figures, too, will aptly illustrate the fact pointed out above—namely, that the growth of the Church in the missions

has followed the pace set by events in the political world. The Mission of Southern Nigeria was established in the year 1885. In the year 1906, after twenty-one years of effort, it counted 12 priests and 850 catechumens. In the year 1912, that is some thirty years ago, the number of priests had risen to 19 and the number of catechumens to 5,585. That was just two years prior to the Great War. One would have imagined that the upheaval would have caused a great set-back to the work. But it was quite the contrary. The rate of acceleration became so great as to be almost bewildering. In the year 1924, 26 priests were striving to answer to the demands of 40,768 Catholics and 108,233 Catechumens! To-day, that is sixteen years later, an almost incredible state of things reveals itself. That which such a short time ago was the Mission of Southern Nigeria no longer exists according to that name. It has been broken up into four ecclesiastical divisions consisting of one Vicariate and three Apostolic Prefectures. The territory that was served sixteen years ago by 26 priests, now taxes the efforts of 129 priests, 4 native priests, 8 brothers and 62 nuns (including 6 native nuns). That means to say that, in a little more than a decade, the number of mission workers has risen from 30 (the number in 1930) to over 200. These figures, of course, imply a corresponding increase in the number of schools and other enterprises that sustain and further the efforts of the missionaries.[1]

Ireland has been called on to play a memorable part in meeting the urgent demands of this mysterious movement of the Spirit throughout the Catholic Church. During the particular period under consideration five Missionary Societies, two of men and three of women and all of Irish origin, have come into being. Besides these there has been a remarkable intensification of effort by the religious societies that, before the time spoken of, had been labouring in pagan lands. It is not the purpose of the present article to dwell on the nature

[1] S. Nigeria is but cited as being typical of what is taking place elsewhere. The growth of the Church in the Cameroons is still more prodigious. In East Africa there is the same phenomenon. In the mission of Zanzibar 24 priests worked in 1931. There are nearly 70 to-day. In China there is the same tempo observable in the conversions from paganism.

and the results of this output of missionary activity on the part of our people. The missionary ardour of the priests and nuns who leave for China, Africa and elsewhere is rivalled only by the generosity with which the people finance this holy enterprise.

One of these new Irish foundations calls for special mention, since its purpose stresses what has come to be a crying need in the mission fields. Hospitals and clinics have become an essential element in Catholic missionary enterprise. An Irish lady, from personal experience realising this, has founded a society whose members have as their special aim to promote the extension of Christ's Kingdom by giving their services as nurses and doctors to the Catholic Missions.[1] If the work of the Church in the mission field is not to suffer a steady erosion, it has become imperative for the Heads of the missions to take in hand the creation of hospitals. The Church would not be faithful to its traditional rôle were it to neglect the needs of suffering humanity. Not only that, but neglect in this matter would adversely affect its direct efforts to convert souls. The cure of the sick has a humanitarian aspect, but for the Church as for Christ the end of it is not merely humanitarian. It must not be thought that preoccupation with the treatment of disease and sickness diverts the energies and resources of a Catholic mission from its essential work, which is the spread of Christianity. In the task of overcoming the obstacles which in pagan lands obstruct the path of the faith the doctor can be a powerful aid to the priest.

The prestige of the Church is involved in this. As a rule the European Governments set up medical services in the territories under their control. The Protestant Mission Societies have occupied themselves with zeal in their care of the sick. If a rapidly growing Catholic community were to see all this active benevolence exercised by government officials and by the lay-helpers of the Protestant missionaries, it would conclude either that the Catholic Missions were indifferent to suffering or were unable to deal with it

[1] The reference is to the Society of the Medical Missionaries of Mary founded recently by Mother Mary Martin.

efficiently. A presumption of insensibility or inefficiency would militate seriously against the prestige of the Church; and prestige counts for much in pagan communities. The Catholics, needing medical assistance, would be obliged to frequent the non-Catholic hospitals and clinics. There would be a consequent danger that the sick and infirm, when Catholic, would easily succumb to the suggestion that this charity could have its inspiration only in a religion that was the religion established by Christ.

It is of great importance that there should be, as there sometimes is, a sprinkling of good practising Catholics amongst the personnel of the government and commercial services. The advantage to the Church is still greater, if the hospitals are staffed by doctors and nurses belonging to the true faith. It is easy to understand what a powerful influence for good the example of a doctor devoutly practising his religion would have on the impressionable native.

But the most decisive aid that a Catholic medical man can render to the propagation of the faith is of another kind. As has been said, the spread of the faith in pagan lands has manifested the same rapid movement that has marked the political developments in the last thirty years. This rate of progress has had its disadvantages. Whilst large sections of the pagan populations have passed with a bound, from the practice of a very debased form of religion, to the knowledge and practice of the loftiest religion, their mental habits have not been able to keep pace with this swift movement. There is a want of adaptation between the revealed truths to which they assent and the psychological soil in which these truths are planted. Whilst eagerly embracing Christianity, they cling tenaciously and perversely to beliefs finding their inspiration in gross fetichism. The phenomena of birth, death and illness are those which most powerfully impress the primitive mind. With these phenomena are connected the most deeply seated superstitions. How often the priest, in his ministrations to the sick, stumbles, with a shock, upon clear evidence of the usage of charms and spells to propitiate the unseen powers. To the native, from time immemorial, sickness and

death are due to the malevolent interference of hostile spirits. His mind is haunted perpetually by dread of unseen powers, capricious and unkind, who need to be propitiated. The action of these wayward spirits is to be specially feared at birth. The native woman, in the great crisis of childbirth, feels an almost irresistible urge to have recourse to the secular observances of her tribe. Obviously the retention of these practices militates seriously against the purity and steadfastness of the faith.

The skilful and successful application of medical science in the crises of birth and sickness, especially when this science is at the service of a sound faith, can do far more to eradicate these superstitions than the reprobations of the priest. The native sees that healing is a matter of science, not of magic. The influence of the witch doctor, the most potent agency in retaining the hold of paganism over the mind of the native, is undermined by the staff of the Catholic clinic, the Catholic dispensary and the Catholic hospital. The doctor himself, when animated by the missionary spirit, can reinforce enormously the efforts of the priest by kindly instructions and by showing eagerness for the spiritual welfare of his patients. Finally his ministrations, supplemented by the help of nurses trained in obstetrics, can do much towards overcoming a great obstacle to the normal growth of a Christian population and the stability of a Christian society. The Christian family is the principal preoccupation of the missionary and the solid basis of a lasting Christianity. Individual conversions, no matter how numerous, leave the future precarious. Owing to the above-mentioned superstitious practices and dreadfully unskilled treatment, great numbers of young Christian mothers die in child-birth. This means the dissolution of a home that has been built up as the fruit of years of labour and planning. The young Christian man has to pay a dowry for his bride to her parents. It takes years to accumulate the sum required. If the young wife dies, his home is broken up and his years of toil have gone for nought. Even when this misfortune does not happen, there remains the possibility of another. For reasons similar to those above referred to, infant mortality is appallingly high. A Protestant mission doctor has calculated

that, in the Congo, from 60 to 80 per cent. of the infants brought safely into the world fail to survive. This loss to the Catholic missions became so alarming that at the repeated instances of the Vicars-Apostolic, the late Pius XI took the unprecedented step of allowing nuns of existing religious societies to train for and to take up the practice of obstetrics. This can do something, but not all that is possible, to decrease the losses to the Catholic population in pagan countries. It is unnecessary to point out how important the growth of large Christian families is for the progressive elimination of paganism from the territories that are already evangelised.

The time has come when the medical problem in Catholic Missions ought not any longer to be left for its solution to the good-will of this or that individual doctor who may volunteer for work in the mission field. Catholic Germany has led the way in this matter. An organisation having its seat at Würzburg gives financial aid to Catholic students in order to permit of their doing a complete medical course. In return these young men, when qualified, undertake to devote ten years to medical work in the Catholic missions in pagan countries, all their expenses being paid during that period by the Vicars under whom they work. Could not something similar be done in Ireland? In the medical section of missionary enterprise there still remains what calls for the spirit of the pioneer. There are many boys who, with right intentions having studied to be missionary priests, find after a time that they have no call to the priesthood. In spite of this the missionary vocation may be very real. Why not take up the practice of medicine and, joining the goodly company of priests and nuns who each year leave Ireland for the missions, co-operate with them in their labours under conditions similar to those devised by the German society of Würzburg? But this is a subject which will need a further and a special article.

E. Leen

MICHAEL DAVITT IN PENAL SERVITUDE 1870–1877

BY PROFESSOR T. W. MOODY, F.T.C.D.

'HE is a remarkably tall, powerful-looking man, neat in his dress, and with a military bearing . . . His hair, short whiskers, and closely-trimmed moustache are dark; his eyes are dark-blue, and his nose, mouth and chin indicate great readiness and decision of character.'[1] This is a *Times* reporter's description of Michael Davitt on his arrest at Paddington station, London, on Saturday, 14 May 1870, along with John Wilson, the Birmingham gunsmith from whom he had been obtaining arms for the fenian organisation.[2] He passed the week-end in Paddington police station, and on the Monday was brought for examination before the Marylebone police court, charged with loitering for an unlawful purpose about the Great Western Railway terminus.[3] The examination was spread over four weeks, during which he was held on remand in the Clerkenwell house of detention. He was finally (June 14) committed for trial at the central criminal court (the Old Bailey) and transferred to Newgate (the Old Bailey prison).[4] On July 15, before L. C. J. Cockburn, Davitt and Wilson were indicted for treason-felony on two charges :—(i) intending to depose her majesty of her royal style as queen of the United Kingdom by conspiring to insurrection and rebellion, and (ii) intending to levy war against the queen. After a hearing lasting three days (July 15, 16, 18), both prisoners were found guilty, Davitt being sentenced to penal servitude for 15 and Wilson for 7 years.[5] On July 29, Davitt was removed to Millbank penitentiary where he spent 10 months[6]; on 25 May 1871 he was taken to Dartmoor and there remained—with a month's interval at Portsmouth prison (14 June—15 July 1872)[7]—till his release on ticket-of-leave on 19 December 1877.[8] He was thus

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

continuously a prisoner for 7 years and 7 months, of which period he spent 2 months awaiting trial in Clerkenwell and Newgate, 10 months in Millbank, 6 years and 6 months in Dartmoor and one month in Portsmouth.

I

The English convict-prison system, as regulated by the penal servitude act of 1864, recognised three stages in a sentence of penal servitude :—(i) a period of solitary confinement, in Millbank or Pentonville, supposed to last nine months ; (ii) the main part of the sentence, spent in a ' public works prison '—Borstal, Chatham, Dartmoor, Portland or Portsmouth—in which the convicts slept and had their meals in separate cells but worked in association ; (iii) a period of conditional release on ticket-of-leave. During the first stage the convicts only met one another at the daily exercise-hour and when attending chapel, and then under a rule of strict silence. For the rest, they worked in their cells all day on bag-making, weaving, oakum-picking and the like, with intervals for eating and for reading what was officially described as ' religious and educational books, . . . with a limited number of works of general literature, . . . called " library books ".' In the public-works prison the convicts were employed in gangs, chiefly on heavy outdoor labour such as building, excavating, stone-cutting, brick-making and farming ; also, indoors, at such trades as tailoring, shoemaking, carpentering and smithing. There were arrangements for exercise (for those engaged on indoor work and, on Sundays, for all convicts), church-attendance, and reading, as in the solitary confinement stage. Convicts were classified not according to the nature of their crimes but according to the time they had served and their conduct in prison. They were graded into five classes—probation, third, second, first and special—promotion from one class to another depending on good conduct and industry, qualified by the rule that the minimum period for probation, third class and second class was one year each, and that the special class could only be entered after exemplary conduct in the first and within one year of discharge from

prison. In each class a convict's performance was recorded in terms of marks earned each day, save that no marks could be earned during solitary confinement. A convict who daily obtained the maximum mark would reach the first class in three years and would become entitled to the maximum period of remission of his sentence, *i.e.* one-fourth of the term due to be spent on public works; a convict whose average daily mark did not exceed 75 per cent. of the maximum earned no remission and had to serve the full sentence in prison. Promotion brought increasing privileges in regard to receiving and writing letters, visits from relatives and friends, the rate of earning a gratuity, and the amount of Sunday exercise. Convicts were allowed to write one letter on reception at Millbank or Pentonville and another on reception at a public-works prison. They might receive and write one letter after 6 months in the probation class, another on reaching the third class, and one thereafter at intervals of 6, 4, 3 and 2 months according to class; a visit of 20 minutes' duration (increased to 30 minutes in the first and special classes) was allowed at similar intervals. The maximum gratuity that first-class convicts might earn was £3, and those who attained the special class might earn an additional sum of £3, the whole being payable in instalments on and after their discharge.[9]

Davitt received his initiation into the miseries of solitary confinement during the two months preceding his trial. Though legally presumed to be innocent prior to his sentence on July 18, his punishment in fact began from the day of his arrest.[10] At the outset he spent a sleepless week-end in the semi-darkness of a cell at Paddington that had neither bed nor bedding.[11] At Clerkenwell he was given a bed—'a dirty blanket and rug on a bare unmattressed hammock'—and was permitted to buy his own food. Solitary confinement was relieved only by one hour of exercise daily and by interviews with his solicitor's clerk. After one such interview a warder reported to the governor that he had seen Davitt hand over to the clerk a plan of the prison along with instructions to his legal adviser. On the strength of this fiction, the instructions

were seized and read by the governor, and a sensational paragraph appeared in one of the London papers announcing the discovery of another plot to blow up Clerkenwell prison, this time from the inside.[12] Davitt's line of defence was thus communicated to the prosecution, and his chances of receiving an unprejudiced hearing from a London jury were appreciably diminished. At Newgate he found conditions rather more tolerable than at Clerkenwell.[13] In the cell under the court-room where he awaited the jury's verdict on July 18, he added one more to the melancholy inscriptions that crowded the walls: 'M.D. expects ten years for the crime of being an Irish nationalist and the victim of an informer's perjury.'[14]

Millbank prison, in which Davitt began the probation stage of his sentence, stood on the north bank of the Thames, close to Westminster Abbey and the houses of parliament. Its tomb-like silence, the loneliness and bleakness of the cells, and the grinding monotony of the prisoners' existence were the more terrible by contrast with the many-voiced roar of London surging unseen outside the prison walls. To Davitt time seemed to pass all the more slowly as he listened to the strokes of Big Ben reverberating every fifteen minutes through the prison. 'The chant of Westminster clock will ever haunt my memory, and recall that period of my imprisonment when I first had to implore divine providence to preserve my reason.' His cell at Millbank was relatively large—9 or 10 feet long by about 8 wide—and was furnished with a plank bed, bucket, wooden platter and spoon, pint tin and chamber pot. The bucket, fitted with a lid, served the dual purpose of water-holder and seat, 14 inches high, on which he sat for ten hours a day, picking oakum as best he might with his solitary left hand. The stone-floored cell was so cold in winter that prisoners became numb as they sat at work, and pacing the cells was prohibited. Bedding was dirty and quite inadequate in winter. A bath was allowed once a fortnight, but the same water had often to serve for six convicts. Davitt complained of insufficient exercise, and after eight months the prison doctor ordered him an extra half-hour

each day. An application for extra food, on the ground that he was losing weight, was refused[15]; and according to the prison records, he was 3½ lb. heavier on leaving Millbank (150½ lb.) than on entering it (147 lb.).[16] For reading matter Davitt was expected to content himself with four small religious books suitable for children, two elementary school books, and 'works of general literature' with such titles as *Naughty Fanny* and *Grandmother Betty* only one of which was allowed every fortnight. His entire conversation during 10 months at Millbank—with warders, chaplains and, surreptitiously, with other prisoners—would not, he asserts, have taken 20 minutes to repeat. Twice he applied for a visit, first from Martin Haran of Haslingden, his 'most intimate friend,' and then from a Mrs. Forrester. Both applications were refused without any reason being given, though, on the second occasion, the governor read to Davitt an order from the home secretary forbidding Mrs. Forrester to see him. When his old schoolteacher at Haslingden, a Miss Gorman, wrote to the governor asking 'whether there is any chance of a visit or a letter from Michael Davitt,' the governor replied that Davitt was entitled to a visit but that all visits were then disallowed 'on account of the smallpox.'

Davitt's departure from Millbank was marked by a refinement of cruelty. On 25 May 1871, a warder came to his cell with the electrifying news that his discharge had arrived from the home office and that he was to be released the same evening or the following morning. Davitt never thought of doubting that he had been amnestied. Some time later he was conducted to the prison entrance, to find that he was to be discharged—to Dartmoor.[18] He began a less-confined but far more savage life on 'The Moor' by being located in the punishment cells ('chokey'). Here sleep was almost impossible owing to the howling of refractory convicts undergoing punishment on bread and water. After a week he obtained a transfer to the ordinary cells in the block known as 'No. 2 Prison.' Each cell was 7 feet long, 4 feet wide and about 7 feet high, with slate floor and roof and corrugated-iron sides. Four floors or landings, each containing 42 back-to-

back cells, formed a stack that stood in the middle of a hall. Ventilation was provided by an opening of two or three inches at the bottom of the cell-doors, and, in the cells on the first three landings, by perforations near the top. On the fourth landing, where there were no such perforations, prisoners could only breathe with difficulty in summer, and Davitt often found it necessary to kneel with his mouth to the bottom of the door for a little air. The light admitted to the cells scarcely sufficed for reading in the daytime ; when the weather was foggy, as it often was in the winter, reading was impossible. The atmosphere of the hall soon became very foul when the convicts were in their cells, and was made worse by the presence of two ' tub closets,' which had to serve the needs of 168 men. Even a governor subsequently admitted that conditions in No. 2 Prison were not ideal. A new block, No. 5 Prison, in which the accommodation was much better, was built by convict labour soon after Davitt's arrival, but Davitt was located there only for a few weeks prior to his discharge. Though the work at Dartmoor was incomparably more strenuous than at Millbank, the food-ration differed only in the addition of four ounces of bread a day, which was partly offset by a deduction of one ounce of meat a week. The inadequacy of this ration was illustrated by the prevalence of candle-eating, which was a punishable offence. The quality of the food was the worst and the cooking the filthiest that Davitt had known since his arrest. It was not uncommon to find cockroaches in soup or bread ; but men ravenous with hunger soon learnt not to be squeamish.[19]

Davitt's first employment was on stone-breaking, after a week of which his hand became too blistered to continue. He was then attached to one of the gangs engaged in hauling carts about the prison, but after a few months the harness which he wore injured the stump of his right arm, and so he was put back to stone-breaking (October 1871). This was his occupation during his first winter at Dartmoor (1871–2). In April 1872 he was given indoor work—bone-breaking—which he loathed on account of the stench of the bones, aggravated by the proximity of the bone-shed to the prison

cess-pool. The stench was at its worst in hot weather, as Davitt had reason to know. He was kept at bone-breaking from April to the following September, with a break of just over a month (14 June—15 July) at Portsmouth prison. The Portsmouth episode is inexplicable. Davitt had apparently no inkling of why he was transferred to Portsmouth, and the only reason he could think of for his early return to Dartmoor was that, in a letter to his mother,[20] he spoke of Portsmouth as being an improvement on the prison he had left. He travelled to Portsmouth in a party of 30 convicts chained together by the wrist, and no concession was made to his being one-armed; on the return journey he was handcuffed to a madman.[21] Back at Dartmoor he was successively employed at bone-breaking, carting, work as a mason's labourer, and stone-breaking. He continued at stone-breaking for about three years, till in August 1876 he was transferred to the prison wash-house. This was done as a precaution against an attempt which, it was believed, might be made by Davitt's friends to repeat the recent brilliant exploit of the Clan-na-Gael in rescuing six fenian convicts from Fremantle prison, Western Australia (April 1876).[22] The wash-house was in a secure place in the centre of the prison; there Davitt was under close surveillance as he worked interminably at the wringing-machine. But he was saved from the rigours of another Dartmoor winter out of doors. At the same time he was moved from the ordinary to the punishment cells, where he remained till November 1877.[23] On the door of one of these cells he found the legend—'J. B. O'R., 20 yrs.'—written nine years before by the fenian John Boyle O'Reilly, who had made a spectacular escape from Bunbury prison, Western Australia, in February 1869, to become one of the most prominent and popular citizens of Boston, Massachusetts.[24] While located in the punishment cells, Davitt seldom had an unbroken night's sleep, being inspected every hour by a warder who shone a lamp on him through the spy-hole of the cell-door.[25]

II

Davitt, in common with the other imprisoned fenians, believed that it was the policy of the authorities to single him out for harsher and more degrading treatment than that of the ordinary criminals among whom he lived. There can be no doubt that he suffered tortures in prison unknown to the average convict; but that was inevitable just because he was not an average convict. As he himself put it: 'Habitual criminals, men unacquainted with the law of moral obligations, and who are dead to feelings of honour and the sense of shame, succeed best in prison.'[26] An illuminating commentary on this statement is provided by a recent prison-autobiography, Jim Phelan's *Jail journey* (London, 1940), in which the author has recorded and scientifically analysed his experiences of prison life in Dartmoor and elsewhere. He divides the convict population into two classes, described in prison slang as 'wides' and 'mugs.' The 'wides' are the professional criminals, who adapt themselves readily to prison conditions. 'It is a regrettable fact, but an interesting and ineluctable one, that only the professional thief has sufficient mental alertness and resource to avoid the cumbrous clutchings and crushings of the English jail-machine . . . For him the evasion, the furtiveness, the suspicious alert circumspection are part of his equipment in the ordinary business of earning his living.'[27] The 'mugs' are novices who expect that normal standards of conduct and the rules of logic obtain in prison. To such 'the jail-controllers say in effect, whatever they may intend to say: "We will put you in our jail-machine. You will be squeezed of all initiative and resource till you become like a mummy or an automaton; or you will be driven into neurosis, perhaps insanity; or you will become violent and dangerous; or again, you will be a good prisoner while retaining your sanity and initiative—if you can learn to behave like a professional pick-pocket."'[28]

If this is a sound analysis, Dartmoor has changed little in essentials since Davitt's time. Phelan's definition of 'mug' fits Davitt's case exactly. Davitt cites, as an example of exceptionally harsh treatment, his confinement to the punish-

ment cells for a week and deprivation of privileges during two months for refusing to substitute 'sir' for 'here' in answering his name to an assistant-warder. The prison rules, he said, required prisoners to be respectful at all times, but did not specify the terms to be used in addressing warders. He had always been respectful in his language towards the official in question, and no objection had previously been made to his answering 'here.' Therefore, he concludes, the punishment 'was nothing more than a gratuitous piece of petty tyranny.'[29] This is the logic of the 'mug' *par excellence*; and the fact is the more impressive because the incident occurred after six years of imprisonment—during Easter of 1876. A 'wide' would never have thought of contesting a prison official's ruling on what constituted respectful language.[30] In all such cases the convict's sole remedy was to complain to the prison governor, a course that was apt to involve him in worse trouble than before, since the governor would almost invariably accept the jailor's version of what happened and would not admit the testimony of another convict.[31] 'Prisoners who complain of . . . prison officials are looked upon as "troublesome men" and are subjected to petty annoyances in consequence,' says Davitt.[32] Had he not been temperamentally incapable of acquiring the prison-technique of professional thieves, he would have avoided much of that 'petty tyranny' which galled him so deeply. In the main, his sufferings of mind and body can be adequately explained as the inevitable effect, on a proud, sensitive and intelligent spirit, of a system that tended to encourage the worst and destroy the best instincts of its victims. Moreover, the fact that Davitt had lost his right arm meant that, unless he were treated considerately—as he certainly was not—the ordinary prison-routine was sure to cause him exceptional physical distress. It is his glory that, resisting the jail-machine to the end, he was never broken by it—never became insane or neurotic or embittered or hopeless.

Most of the instances of discrimination against him which Davitt relates prove nothing more than that he was very

much at the mercy of his jailors and that he was not popular with some of them. But there are other instances that can only be explained by the existence of explicit instructions from the prison governor. Despite repeated applications made by himself and by friends from outside, the ordinary convict's privilege of receiving visits was always denied to Davitt.[33] Whereas ordinary convicts were allowed to choose a companion from the same ward to exercise with on Sundays, Davitt was forbidden to choose the one man whose company would have been congenial—Thomas Chambers, a fellow Irishman and a fenian.[34] As already mentioned, Davitt was located in the punishment cells during his first week and for 14 of his last 15 months at Dartmoor, though he had committed no offence against the prison discipline. In these cases Davitt was treated more rigorously than the thieves and murderers of Dartmoor; and the reason for such discrimination was, he asserted, that his offence was a political one. It transpired later that the home office regarded Davitt as a particularly dangerous conspirator, and had instructed the prison authorities to take special precautions against his escaping or having any communications with his former confederates.[35] Other imprisoned fenians—James Clancy[36] at Portsmouth, Edward O'Meagher Condon[37] at Portland, Charles McCarthy[38] and John Patrick O'Brien[39] at Chatham, Thomas Chambers[40] and Thomas Ahearn[41] at Dartmoor—were eventually allowed visits from political friends. But when John O'Connor Power, M.P., after visiting Clancy and finding him in very poor health, applied to the home secretary for permission to visit Davitt, he was refused.[42] Yet while going to such an extreme to isolate Davitt from all political contacts, the government declined to admit that he was a political offender.

The distinction between political and other crimes, though unknown to the law, was as well recognised by British statesmen as it was insisted upon by Irish public opinion. A commission of inquiry into the treatment of treason-felony convicts, appointed in May 1870, described political crimes as implying, in the view of the offenders, no moral degradation and considered that political prisoners should be segregated

from the general body of convicts.[43] Gladstone spoke of 'the distinction we found it our duty to draw between criminality of a general character and those political offences which according to modern sentiment are justly treated with comparative leniency.'[44] It was in virtue of this distinction that Gladstone's government released 34 imprisoned fenians in March 1869 and a second batch, numbering 33, in January 1871. These were men sentenced between 1865 and 1868 for their connection with the insurrectionary movement, and included some of the most prominent of the original fenians—C. J. Kickham, T. C. Luby, John O'Leary, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, John Devoy.[45] Many less-known fenians were not released, as the government held that their offences were not political. These prisoners fall mainly into three groups:—(i) civilians convicted for complicity in the Manchester rescue and the killing of Sergeant Brett (September 1867); (ii) soldiers convicted before courts martial in Ireland (1866–7) for mutiny and associated offences; (iii) Davitt and Wilson, whose arrest three years after the fenian 'rising' of 1867 was an isolated incident.[46] The Irish Amnesty Association contended that there was no essential difference between the offences of these imprisoned fenians and those of the fenians who had been amnestied, and that it was unjust to deny to the followers the clemency shown to the leaders[47]; to which Gladstone's reiterated answer was that the government had released all whom it could regard as political prisoners.[48] The justice of this claim was contested with particular vehemence in the case of Davitt and Wilson, especially after a letter, which Davitt had contrived to smuggle out of Dartmoor, appeared in the press (September 1872) giving particulars of his treatment in prison.[49] Through the intervention of J. F. Maguire, the much respected M.P. for Cork, Gladstone caused the matter to be reviewed by the home secretary, H. A. Bruce. After obtaining reports from the officers of Millbank and Dartmoor, Bruce decided that some of Davitt's statements either exaggerated or distorted the occurrences of which he complained, while others related 'to incidents which are only the ordinary lot of prisoners who have been convicted of

grave crimes against the laws of their country.' Furthermore, Bruce brought before the cabinet the question whether Davitt's offence was such as to justify any more lenient treatment than that of ordinary convicts. The cabinet decided in the negative, on the ground that the offence was of 'the gravest character' and was aggravated by the fact that Davitt and Wilson were caught distributing arms for insurrectionary purposes after an amnesty had been granted to many of the fenians imprisoned for complicity in the late insurrection.[50] In brief, Davitt was treated no worse than ordinary convicts and had no reasonable claim to be treated better.

Neither of these conclusions was accepted as satisfactory by the Amnesty Association. (i) Bruce's dismissal of Davitt's allegations depended, as J. G. Biggar pointed out, on the statements of prison officials, who were the parties complained of.[51] In the notorious case of O'Donovan Rossa, Bruce had in parliament denied the prisoner's allegations,[52] but was proved to have been misinformed when a government commission of inquiry established the fact that O'Donovan's hands were kept manacled behind his back, without a break, except at meal-times, for five weeks (17 June—20 July 1868).[53] The Amnesty Association had therefore reason to distrust Bruce's explanation in the case of Davitt and to challenge the government to a public inquiry before an impartial tribunal. (ii) The government's refusal to recognise Davitt as a political prisoner was based on the gravity of his offence and the circumstances in which it was committed. But how could this alter the fact that the offence was in its nature political just as certainly as that of Luby, O'Leary, O'Donovan Rossa and the rest, or that of the Neapolitan prisoners on whose behalf Gladstone had thundered so memorably?[54] And if the gravity of the offence were a relevant consideration, how could Davitt, sentenced to 15 years, be regarded as more criminal than Luby and O'Leary, sentenced to 20 years, and O'Donovan Rossa, to penal servitude for life, all four being convicted of treason-felony? The crucial facts about Davitt, from the government's point of view, would seem to be (*a*) that he was regarded as a desperate man, who would not

stick at assassination to attain his end, and (*b*) that he had carried on preparations for insurrection, undeterred by the failure of the original rising and the removal of all the leading fenians. The amnesty of 1869 had not caused him to desist from treasonable activities; can the government be blamed for holding that to extend the new amnesty to Davitt would be merely to encourage fresh attempts at rebellion? But it was one thing to refuse to amnesty Davitt and quite another to deny him any alleviation of his sufferings in prison.

T. W. Moody

(*To be continued*)

NOTES

[1] *The Times*, 18 May 1870, p. 7, col. 4. Davitt's eyes were, in fact, brown.

[2] Ibid., 16 May 1870, p. 7, col. 5; D. B. Cashman, *Life of Michael Davitt* (London, n.d.), p. 23.

[3] Ibid; *The Times*, 17 May 1870, p. 5, col. 2.

[4] Ibid., 18 May 1870, p. 7, col. 5; 21 May, p. 11, col. 4; 30 May, p. 12, col. 4; 3 June, p. 7, col. 2; 8 June, p. 5, col, 4; 15 June, p. 11, col. 5; Cashman, pp. 23–4; Davitt to his father and mother, 18 June 1870 (Davitt MSS.).

[5] *The Times*, 16 July 1870, p. 11, col. 3–5; 18 July, p. 11, col. 1–3; 19 July, p. 11, col. 2–3; *Nation*, 23 July, p. 782, col. 1–4; *Irishman*, 23 July, p. 61 and supplement.

[6] Cashman, p. 25; Davitt to his father and mother, 31 May 1871 (Davitt MSS.).

[7] Davitt to 'My dear M.', 1 Aug. 1872, in the *Nation*, 7 Sept. 1872, pp. 563–4.

[8] Cashman, p. 43.

[9] *Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the working of the penal servitude acts*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1878–9, vol. xxxvii, p. 85 [c. 2368—I, p. 15]; vol. xxxviii, pp. 438–9 [c. 2368—II, pp. 1138–9].

[10] Cf. Wilfrid Macartney, *Walls have mouths* (London, 1936), pp. 31–2.

[11] The evidence for Davitt's life in prison consists mainly of the following: (i) The letters from prison, all of which, with the exception of a few that were published at the time (see below), are preserved among the Davitt MSS. (ii) A speech delivered by Davitt at an amnesty demonstration in St. James's Hall, London, on 9 March 1878, of which the full text, in Davitt's hand, is among the Davitt MSS. A modified version was printed as a pamphlet soon afterwards, and this is reprinted in Cashman, *Life of Michael Davitt*, pp. 23–44. (iii) The minutes of Davitt's evidence given on 20 June 1878 before the commission of inquiry into the working of the penal servitude acts (Parl. Papers, H.C. 1878–9, vol. xxxvii pp. 585–615 [c. 2368—I, pp. 515–45]) and the comments of prison officials on some of his statements (ibid., vol. xxxvii, pp. 313–4, 746–57 [c. 2368—I, pp. 243–4, 676–87]; vol. xxxviii, pp. 12, 47–8, 54–5, 61, 182–3 [c. 2368—II, pp. 712, 747–8, 754–5, 761, 882–3]). This source is of special value as supplementing and authenticating (i) and (ii) at various points. (iv) Davitt's *Leaves from a prison diary* (2 vols., London, 1885), which, though written at Portland during his second term of penal servitude, contains many references to his previous imprisonment. Evidence also doubtless exists among the home office papers in the Public Record Office, London, but these are not at present available for inspection (see M. S. Guiseppi, *Guide to the Public Record Office*, ii. 98–100).

[12] Cashman, pp. 23–5. In *The Times* of 30 May 1870 (p. 14, col. 2), there is a report of a fenian threat to attack and blow up the prison, but no suggestion that any of the prisoners were involved.

[13] Davitt's speech in St. James's Hall, London, 9 March 1878 (Davitt MSS.).

[14] Davitt, *Leaves from a prison diary*, i. 147–9.

[15] Details of the prison diet, which agree with Davitt's own account (Cashman, p. 28–9), are given in *Return of the various diets . . . which have been in use at Millbank . . . since 1870 inclusive*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1877, vol. lxix, p. 719.

[16] Parl. Papers, H.C. 1878–9, vol. xxxvii, p. 588 [c. 2368—I, p. 518].

[17] Cashman, pp. 27–30; Parl. Papers, H.C. 1878–9, vol. xxxvii, pp. 585–91 [c. 2368—I, pp. 515–21]; Miss Gorman to the governor of Millbank, 6 March 1871, governor of Millbank to Miss Gorman, 8 March (Davitt MSS.).

[18] Davitt's speech in St. James's Hall, London, 9 March 1878 (Davitt MSS.).

[19] Cashman, pp. 31–3 ; Parl. Papers, H.C. 1878–9, vol. xxxvii, pp. 594, 613, 746, 747, 750 [c. 2368—I, pp. 524, 543, 676, 677, 680] ; W. F. V. Harris, *Dartmoor prison, past and present* (Plymouth, n.d.), pp. 43–5 (the author of this book was governor during part of Davitt's time in Dartmoor).

[20] 12 July 1872 (Davitt MSS.).

[21] Davitt to ' My dear M.', 1 August 1872, in the *Nation*, 7 September 1872, pp. 563–4.

[22] The story of the rescue is told by Davitt in *Life and progress in Australasia* (London, 1898), pp. 464–70.

[23] Cashman, pp. 33–7 ; Davitt to his mother, October 1876 (Davitt MSS.).

[24] Davitt, *Life and progress in Australasia*, pp. 455–63.

[25] Parl. Papers, 1878–9, vol. xxxvii, pp. 611–13, 746, 751–2 [c. 2368—I, pp. 541–3, pp. 676, 681–2].

[26] *Inquiry as to the alleged ill treatment of the convict Charles McCarthy in Chatham convict prison*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1878, vol. lxiii, p. 784 [c. 1978, p. 16].

[27] *Jail journey*, p. 22.

[28] Ibid., pp. 22–3.

[29] Cashman, p. 42.

[30] Phelan, *Jail journey*, pp. 102–3, and *passim*.

[31] *Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the treatment of treason-felony convicts . . .*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1871, vol. xxxii, pp. 9–10 [c. 319] ; *Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the working of the penal servitude acts*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1878–9, vol. xxxvii, pp. 752–5 [c. 2368—I, pp. 682–5].

[32] *Inquiry as to the alleged ill treatment of the convict, Charles McCarthy . . .*, as above.

[33] Cashman, p. 39. Davitt to his father and mother, 31 May 1871 ; to ' My dear friend ', 2 December 1873 ; to his mother, 31 May 1875 ; to John Ryan, 23 November 1877 (Davitt MSS.).

[34] Cashman, pp. 39–40.

[35] *Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the working of the penal servitude acts*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1878–9, vol. xxxvii, pp. 590, 611–13, 746, 751–2 [c. 2368—I, pp. 520, 541–3, 676, 681–2].

[36] *Irishman*, 3 October 1874, p. 215 ; 7 April 1877, p. 652 ; 15 December 1877, p. 372.

[37] Ibid., 22 July 1876, p. 51.

[38] Ibid., 3 June 1876, p. 781 ; 7 October 1876, p. 229 ; 13 January 1877, p. 451 ; 21 April 1877, p. 684 ; 1 September 1877, p. 133.

[39] Ibid., 23 December 1876, p. 405 ; 10 November 1877, p. 293.

[40] Ibid., 7 July 1877, p. 12 ; 29 December 1877, pp. 404–5.

[41] Ibid., 1 September 1877, p. 133.

[42] Ibid., 3 October 1874, p. 215 ; 20 March 1875, p. 599.

[43] *Report of the commission appointed to inquire into the treatment of treason-felony convicts . . .*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1871, vol. xxxii, pp. 12, 27–8 [c. 319].

[44] Gladstone to J. F. Maguire, M.P., 12 October 1872, in the *Nation*, 19 October 1872, p. 660.

[45] *The Times*, 13 March 1869, p. 10, col. 1 ; *Irishman*, 13 March 1869, pp. 579–81 ; ibid., 24 December 1870, p. 405 ; ibid., 14 January 1871, pp. 452–6 ; *Return of the names of the fenian convicts recently released . . .*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1871, vol. lviii, p. 461.

[46] *Return of names of persons suffering imprisonment on account of the murder of Serjeant Brett, at Manchester, 1867 ; also convictions for treason-felony . . .*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1874, vol. liv, p. 493.

[47] *Nation*, 9 September 1871, pp. 903–5 ; 31 August 1872, p. 547 ; 14 September, p. 579 ; 2 November, p. 705 ; *Irishman*, 7 September 1872, p. 154 ; 21 September, p. 182.

[48] *Nation*, 31 August 1872, pp. 545, 547 ; 7 September, p. 561 ; 21 September, pp. 593, 597.

[49] Davitt to ' My dear M.', 1 August 1872, in *Freeman's Journal*, 3 September, p. 6 ; *Nation*, 7 September, pp. 563–4 ; *Irishman*, 7 September, p. 147.

[50] *Nation*, 19 October 1872, p. 660 ; *Irishman*, 19 October 1872, p. 245 ; cf. *Hansard*, ccxvii. 997–8, 25 July 1873.

[51] *Nation*, 26 October 1872, p. 679.

[52] *Hansard*, cxcvi. 1238–42, 4 June 1869 ; cxcviii. 1422–33, 6 August 1869.

[53] *Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the treatment of treason-felony convicts. . .*, Parl. Papers, H.C. 1871, vol. xxxii, pp. 14–16 [c. 319].

[54] *Letters to Lord Aberdeen* (1851).

THE MORALS OF IMPERIALISM

BY CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

THE morals of Imperialism are intensely interesting, the more so because it is obviously impossible to sum them up in any one simple and easy generalisation. There is no difficulty in pronouncing some Kiplingesque generalisation about " the white man's burden." Yet such a generalisation obviously does not contain the whole truth. There is as little difficulty in framing some rounded denunciation of all Imperialism, and as obviously again such a generalisation is not the whole truth. One may expose the particular abuses that have been found in British and other Imperialisms, and indeed it is most important that members of ruling races should be continually reminded of the evil things that have been done and are being done in their name. Yet, though there may be particular scandals which of their own very enormity cry to heaven for vengeance, we cannot really reach a satisfactory judgement on the rights and wrongs of a particular action until we have first come to an agreement on the principle which constitutes right and wrong, and it is there precisely that the difficulty lies.

It is easy enough to make a generalised case both for and against Imperialism, and in both cases there is a degree of truth. It is precisely this degree of truth which makes the complication of the problem. It is easy enough to speak of the natural rights of the native and to ask how a conquest by an Imperial power can be justified. It is easy enough, on the other hand, to point to the material and indeed spiritual progress which the rule of an Imperial power brings to backward people. It is equally easy to talk of the rights of Red Indians and Australian Aborigines. But does anyone suggest that these scattered savages have a right to the exclusive occupation of their continents ? If not, what were their rights ? Where lies the balance ?

There is, of course, one sort of Imperialism—and one which naturally must be present to the minds of Irish readers—which can be condemned easily and without qualification. When it is the higher culture and religion which imposes itself on the lower, there is a very difficult problem. But when the lower attempts to impose itself on the higher, there is no problem. The English Protestants of the Ascendancy period, of course, imagined that Protestantism was a higher religion than Catholicism; but obviously we Catholics cannot admit that, and therefore it necessarily follows that we condemn the attempt to impose Protestantism on a Catholic population.

But that very assertion of the existence of a true and false religion obviously raises for us a problem. We cannot be content with easy and foolish generalisations about one religion and one way of life being as good as another. It is indeed perfectly true that the culture of the native is a complex one. Mixed in with religious notions that are false, customs that perhaps are definitely immoral, are other customs that are indifferent or perhaps even positively edifying. The missionary who brings to the native the gospel of Christianity will be indeed foolish if he attempts also to compel his convert to dress up in a top-hat and a frock-coat, as indeed the missionary is very well aware. It is obviously a pure absurdity which imagines that any missionary of modern times does ever dream of behaving in so foolish a fashion. At the same time it is as obvious that the picture of the free savage, upon whom are imposed the cramping complexities of civilisation, is again a fantasy. The savage's whole life is bounded in by restrictions and taboos. The white man, whatever may be the truth about the effect of his rule on the savage's standard of living, does clearly by his influence liberate the savage from a tyranny; and the truths of Christianity, even more evidently, do come to him as truths that make him free.

The whole controversy about Imperialism is again often vitiated by a begged question. We are given such slogans as "Africa for the Africans" or "India for the Indians," and the argument is drawn out on an assumption that the Indians

or the Africans were free before the white man came and would be free again were he to depart. Manifestly that is not so. There was inter-African and inter-Indian Imperialism before the white man came, and there is no reason at all to doubt that there would be such Imperialism again with the white man's departure. There was no fine Indian freedom which the British overthrew. On the contrary India, throughout all her history, had always been under the rule of invader after invader. In Africa tribe lorded it over tribe, and the last of the African Empires, the Empire of Abyssinia, was a perfect example of black Imperialism—of the rule of a master race such as it was, over subjects. It is indeed true that the story of white Imperialism has been disgraced by numerous cruelties and injustices. These cruelties and injustices should be unsparingly condemned. Yet nobody can seriously doubt that on balance, when every allowance has been made for chicanery and land-filching, the white man has prevented many more atrocities than he has perpetrated. If Imperialism means the rule of one race over another, then it may well be maintained that the controversy whether Imperialism is good or bad is a somewhat idle controversy, since it is in any event inevitable. There may indeed be particular examples of nations maintaining dominion over subjects who were perfectly capable of looking after themselves; but nevertheless there always have been, and doubtless always will be, cultural inequalities between nations which will make it inevitable that, at any given moment, certain races will be under the guardianship of certain other races. The ups and the downs sometimes change places with the course of ages. Yet there are always ups and always downs.

That being so, it is worth while trying to decide what is the teaching of true morals about Imperialism. How can it be justified? The most common of modern controversies, of course, rages round its economics. Apologists justify it with the plea that the efficient ruler develops the country as it has never, and would never have, been developed by the native. Its critics contrast the low standard of living of the native with the inordinately higher standard of living of the

ruler and complain that the wealth of the native country is drained out to line the pockets of the foreign capitalists. It is obviously only possible to pass judgement by considering carefully the particular statistics of each particular colony. Yet the broad truths are clear enough and repeat themselves with fair fidelity from colony to colony. In the first place it is a fair claim by the Imperialistic Western world that, had it not been for it, there would have been no development of these native countries at all. Throughout all their history they have never showed the least inkling of a desire to develop their own lands industrially. Even the nation which alone of non-Europeans has gone far in the direction of industrial self-development—Japan—is purely imitative in her genius, and no one can think it very probable that there would have been a Japanese industrial revolution if there had not been a European industrial revolution to point the way. It is indeed true that the European capitalist and the European manager and governor receive handsome dividends and salaries, but the native patriot who argues that therefore the native is robbed argues a little too simply. It is most arguable that, as a result of European direction, the total product of the country is so very greatly increased that, though the native no longer receives the whole cake, yet the cake is so much larger that his share of it is now more than the whole cake was in the days before Imperialism. No one who reads the record of pestilence and famine in, say, pre-British India can seriously doubt that this is so and that the British rule has brought to the Indian an enormous alleviation of suffering. On a purely individualistic calculation the few hundred thousand Europeans in India certainly earn their keep, and the country would certainly be the poorer were they to leave it.

It may be said: "Yes, but what of the capitalists?" Again the case is not quite simple. It is indeed true that considerable sums are drained out of the native country every year in payment of the dividends to foreign capitalists, but then it is also true that every year new supplies of capital goods come into the country as a result of new investments.

It is an almost invariable rule that a colony imports far more than it exports to its mother country and so is on balance a gainer. It is, of course, theoretically true that at any moment the mother country could choose to stop lending and yet still demand its dividends on past investments. If it got such dividends, it would of course be vastly the gainer from such exportation and the colony vastly the loser. But everyone knows that, in practice, it would not get them. It remains true in colonies as elsewhere, as Mr. Emil Davies cynically but realistically put it, that in international money-lending countries pay their debts in almost exact proportion as they are lent more money and no more. As long as they need further loans, they have a motive to behave considerately to past lenders. When they no longer need loans or can no longer get them, they no longer have the motive of considerateness and in one way or another get out of paying. Therefore it is in truth much more easily arguable that the workers in the Imperialistic country are robbed as the result of foreign lending than it is that the native country is robbed.

If we are seeking to find the answer to a moral problem, then an objector is entitled to pose the question in another way. " Even granted," he may say, " that on an individualistic basis the European is worth the large salaries that he earns, does that justify him in taking them ? " A man by some lucky discovery might increase the wealth of the world by millions. But that does not necessarily say that he is justified in putting millions of pounds into his own pocket. Watt invented the steam-engine, but he would not have been justified in annexing to himself all the wealth created by the steam-engine had he been able to do so. After all the purpose of an income is to enable a man to live. Stomachs do not vary very greatly from one another in capacity and therefore, while we are not committed to any doctrine of absolute equality, nevertheless the differences of income should not be immense. And, if not immense between individuals, no more should they be between races.

There is obviously a great deal of force in such an argument. There is one great practical difficulty in it. Life in the tropics

is an unnatural and not a very attractive life for a European. The great bait that persuades him to go there is the salary. It is hard to see why anyone would ever go if he was not to receive more money than he did for doing similar work at home; while, if his income was to be anywhere near that of the native, then it is obvious that he must receive very much less money. It is difficult to see how you are going to get the European out to Africa or India at all without a lure of high wages.

There is obviously another line along which these contentions can be challenged—a line where mere statistical arguments cannot be final. That European Imperialism has brought a measure of economic development to native lands cannot be denied. But clearly one can be very much less assured in one's answer to the critic who asks whether the native wants such development and whether he is the better for it. It may well be that there are many who do not at all want the railways which the white man has made them build and who would much prefer to have been allowed to continue in the old simple life with its lower standard of living. Or it may again be that, among those who have welcomed most eagerly the glittering lights of industrial civilisation, have been many who have been debauched and uprooted by it and who would have been better and happier had they only been left alone. A similar argument can be pressed from the European side. Quite apart from any merely statistical controversy whether the white man has robbed the native or not, it is most arguable that the claims of racial superiority on which custom compels the white man to insist, at any rate in British colonies, are morally damaging to the character.

It is hard enough, in any event, to find an answer to those queries. If we approach them with a philosophy of subjective and humanistic hedonism, it is impossible. If there is no absolute right and wrong, then indeed who are we to object to cannibals and practisers of suttee? Even if the principle on which we should act is that of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," how can we tell of these

men and women, so wholly different from ourselves, what will make them happy and what will not? We say that suttee is an institution inimical to happiness, because we should not ourselves care to fling ourselves upon a funeral pyre. But it may well be that those who do so, believing that by doing so they are obtaining the rewards of a future life, are happy in their fanaticism. Who can say?

Yet it is perhaps idle to waste time in debating what conduct is right or wrong on a philosophy which really gives no justification for the use of such words at all. If on the other hand we can approach the world from a Christian standpoint, then we have a different problem and one where there is more hope of a solution. Then we know that there are some lessons, at any rate, which it is right that we should teach to men of other races than ourselves. We have the divine command to carry the Gospel to them, and by consequence we have an obvious right to attempt to wean them from such customs as may be in definite antagonism to the Church's teaching. We may be confident that they will, in the long run, be the better for being freed from suttee; but in any event we need not too much bother our heads about the problem of consequences. We can abolish suttee simply because it is wrong.

By taking our stand on such a ground we do not, of course, obtain the right to do exactly as we please with the natives and then to justify our conduct by the plea that we are Christians and have the Gospel in our saddle-bags. There have been perhaps Christians who have behaved thus in the chequered history of Imperialism, but clearly their conduct is not to be defended. On the contrary, if we take our stand upon that high ground, we have an obligation to scrutinise with a double care the conduct of the white man in face of the native. It must, of course, be confessed that it has often been very far from that of a Christian missionary. But it clearly is not sufficient merely to condemn abuses. We have to ask ourselves whether the chances of the white man being a good Christian are, at such a time as this, sufficient to justify the continuance of the experiment of Imperialism. The

answer is obviously extremely doubtful and, if there were any practical chance of getting Governments to adopt it, there would be a good deal to be said for confining the contacts between natives and Europeans to missionaries and a minimum of soldiers, policemen and government officials, who were paid by fixed salaries and not allowed to make personal profit out of the country.

The invocation of Christian principles raises the further very difficult question whether Christian principles do or do not permit the recognition of the colour bar. All boils down here really to the inter-marriage question. If intermarriage is possible, then all other restrictions can be transcended. If on the other hand intermarriage is impossible, then it is practically necessary to impose many other barriers on social intercourse. What has Christianity to say to this? It is, of course, a platitude that Christianity is a religion for men of every colour, and I think that it fairly follows from that that the Christian must necessarily think of the colour bar as an evil. Thus it would be a definitely unchristian action to go out in Hitlerian fashion and preach racial intolerance among people who did not naturally feel it. Where the Christian finds people such as the French or the Portuguese who are not colour-conscious, he should rejoice, and the colonies of such nations obviously and inevitably solve their colour problem by the creation of a new race of mixed blood.

It is often argued—and the evidence seems to show that there is some truth in it—that the extreme repugnance of people of what is known as Anglo-Saxon blood to interbreeding is not natural but the forced creation of circumstances. Rowe, James I's Ambassador to the Grand Mogul, does not seem to have been conscious of any repugnance to Indian women, and indeed right up to the time of the Mutiny, in an age when the return to England on leave was of necessity a rarity, interbreeding was much more frankly recognised than it has been since. The European's house contained the quarters for the native women. To this day the Dutch in Java, as opposed to those in South Africa, tolerate widespread intermarriage and in New Zealand there is little feeling

against intermarriage with the Maoris, cannibals though they were a couple of generations ago. In the Southern states of the United States there are, of course, the strictest laws against intermarriage between the races and the most violent means are taken by white men to protect the purity of the white women. But the white men are not always quite so careful of the purity of the black women. It is, of course, common to say that the half-caste has all the vices of both of his races; but how far that is true and how far, if true at all, it is due not to any biological inferiority but to the fact that the half-caste is despised by both races, it is indeed difficult to say. Before the Mutiny no one thought of Eurasians as decadent and the exploits of Hodson's horse seem conclusively to prove that not all of them were. It is difficult to resist the conclusions that in India, the United States and elsewhere the doctrines of racial incompatibility were deliberately invented in order to buttress up a particular political and social order and that it is to a great extent a matter of chance what relations are found to be repugnant and what are not. Almost any alliance very easily becomes a misalliance, if the whole forces of society are mobilised to condemn it.

Yet all such contentions do not quite meet the practical point. The practical point is that—through whatever fault, rightly or wrongly—this repugnance does now exist, and it is a mere wanton folly merely to ignore or neglect it. None of us can deny, to take a concrete instance, that, however liberal our instincts, yet we should be concerned if we heard that a sister of ours was to marry either an Indian or an African even if he was a Christian. That repugnance has perhaps been the creation of the past, and it may be that the future will succeed in gradually destroying it; but this does not alter the fact that here and now it exists.

That being so, the strain and inconvenience of mixed societies is manifest, and it is desirable to have as little of them as possible. The European in the native's country, so far as he goes there, should go there as officer or missionary, but should not be allowed to acquire property and to become

an integral part of the society. The ideal, with all its difficulties, should yet be Africa for the African and India for the Indian.

It is obviously not in practice an easy question. What constitutes an effective occupation ? We have already agreed that it would have been an extravagance to call all North America a Red Indian country or to have preserved Australia for the Aborigines. But where do we draw the line ? Are the West Indies white men's countries or black men's ? There is the further difficulty of the coloured man in what we must concede to be a white man's country—particularly, of course, in the Southern States of the United States. The theoretical answer to that problem is obviously Liberia. On our principle the negroes of the South should go back to Africa to play their part in building up the African community there. The practical difficulties are two. First, it is impossible to persuade all but a small proportion of the American Africans to do any such thing. Their whole life is bound up with America and, for all the discrimination that there may be against them, they would infinitely prefer to stay there rather than go elsewhere. Secondly, the African who has come back from America considers himself by no means of an equality with the African who has never left Africa. New class barriers are erected as rigid and as evil as the colour barriers of the past. There is clearly no practical solution save to accept societies as they are and to be content with gradual modifications.

Whether that will be possible in the present sad world remains to be seen. It may well be that the disastrous example which the European powers have offered to the non-European for the second time in a generation will have its repercussions on their prestige and that the non-European all over the world will ask for what reason he should any longer bow the knee to such madmen. It is highly improbable that the sudden collapse of world Imperialism would prove any more advantageous than any other sudden collapse, but that does not mean that it is not quite likely to happen.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

THE CHURCH AND THE JEWS*

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MANY years ago, when I was a youth in Rome, the bells of the city rang out one sunny winter's morning to celebrate the fall of Jerusalem to General Allenby's armies. That afternoon, with a batch of students, I wandered past the Arch of Titus amid the ruins of the Roman Forum. That graceful arch, with its carvings representing booty from the temple of Herod—the seven-branched candlestick, the table of showbread, the trumpet of jubilee—commemorates another siege and another fall of Jerusalem almost two thousand years before; and thousands of years before that the Jews had writ their name large in history. Contemporaries of ancient Egypt, Chaldaea and Troy, they had built for their conquerors the palaces of Assyria and Nineveh; they had hung their harps in captivity by the waters of Babylon; they had seen bloom and flourish and fade the glory that was Greece. They were already old when the young white-limbed conqueror, Alexander the Great, walked hand-in-hand with the high priest to offer sacrifice in the Temple. They looked on, in aloof disdain, at the rise and fall of the Roman Empire. Truly, as Charles Lamb said, "they are a piece of stubborn antiquity compared to which Stonehenge is in its infancy." No people in the ancient world can boast a history or a glory like theirs; and no people in the modern world can boast a history and a misery like theirs. For centuries Israel has passed through periods of bitter wandering and persecution darker than the most morbid imaginations of fiction. But through it all the Jews have stood irrepressible, proud, tenacious, preserving their religion and their traditions, impervious to the alchemy of history, still clutching their unconquerable hope. It is the naked truth to say that there is nothing in all history to compare with them.

* Notes of a lecture delivered in the Aberdeen Hall, Gresham Hotel, Dublin, 16 November 1941.

The world today is no less, but rather more, conscious of the Jews than ever, and its reactions to what is called the "Jewish problem" are no less, but rather more, conflicting than ever. Let us pass these reactions in review. From one side you will hear that there is no such thing as a Jewish problem at all—any more than there is a Catholic or a Protestant or a Presbyterian or a Salvation Army problem; that the Jews are one religious body among thousands and that there would be no trouble if people would simply leave them alone. At the opposite pole, others maintain that not only is there a problem, but that it is a problem so vast and dangerous that there is no solution for it but extermination or persecution. Not so virulent, others assert that the problem is one of international finance and commercial dishonesty; others that it is a question of Freemasonry and political intrigue; others that it is a question of social revolution and Bolshevism—and so on and so on, until the mind reels.

I shall try in this paper to thread some kind of way through this maze of opinions; to discuss whether there is a problem and, if so, what is its nature; to set aside those solutions which, from the point of view of Catholicity or of common humanity, are not to be contemplated; and to suggest, in the light of Catholic principles and of common sense, the steps that governments or individuals, and the Jews themselves, might take to remove the recurrent and disastrous frictions.

The first position we meet is that there is no Jewish problem at all. This was the official attitude taken up by the majority of Western European States since the time of the French Revolution. It was received with particular enthusiasm in Victorian England and was hailed as the great triumph of liberal thought. Jewry, it was maintained, was just a religion like any other, and religion was a private affair. The advance of free-thought, the establishment of the lay state, had successfully weaned Europeans away from their old religious antagonisms; and just as Protestants and Catholics no longer murdered each other for the love of God, so, now that they were emancipated from clerical and theological dictation, people would cease harrying the Jews.

This policy worked so well for a time—almost for a century—in Western Europe, that it is not surprising that it won many adherents. But it was based on a foreshortening of history. The experience of a century looks enormous to us ; but it is no more than a day in the life of a people like the Jews. Moreover, in the ramp against ecclesiastical and clerical influence it was forgotten that the Jewish problem does not affect Christian peoples only. For the Jewish *diaspora*, the dispersal of the Jews throughout the world, did not begin with the fall of Jerusalem to Titus or with the triumph of Christianity. On the contrary, Christianity itself spread *through* the already existing *diaspora*. By the time of Christ the majority of the Jews were already living outside Palestine ; and it has been estimated that they numbered eight or nine millions—*i.e.*, almost one-tenth of the population of the Roman Empire. The Apostles and their successors made their contacts through the Jewish communities throughout the Empire—in Ephesus, Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Athens, Naples, Rome. Before Christianity was heard of, then, there was a Jewish problem and it was acute. There is the famous speech, the *Pro Flacco*, defending Flaccus from a charge of injustice against the Jews, in which Cicero tells how he found it necessary to lower his voice in the Roman Forum itself lest the Jews should riot. " You know how numerous these gentry are," he said, " how they cling together and what pressure they bring to bear in assemblies." It sounds like a passage from *Mein Kampf*.

What is true of the pagan Roman Empire is true also of Islam. I know that it is often suggested that the Mohammedans have treated the Jews more kindly than the Christians ; and it is true that there has been less continued oppression in the history of Islam. But nevertheless in Islam, too, the Jew is an outcast—treated always as something base and alien. In Morocco, not so long ago, a Jew had not only to wear a special badge, but to turn his face to the wall if a Mohammedan magnate passed by him.

Finally, in Western Europe itself the old liberal pretence that there was no problem has proved a complete failure,

and the age-old experience of every other community has asserted itself again—most of all in circles where Christianity counts for very little. The growth of Jewish numbers and the spread of Jewish influence smashed the pretence. It was possible to keep up this polite fiction when there were only a very few Jewish figures of importance, not too well known to the general public; but it became impossible to keep it up in view of the huge influx of Jews into London, Bradford, Leeds, New York, Frankfurt, Berlin, Vienna, Paris; in view of the fact of Jewish Prime Ministers in England and France, of Jewish Mayors in New York and in Rome itself; in view of their business monopolies, of their preponderating interest in the professions, in press and stage and cinema, on the turf and in boxing circles, as agitators, politicians, ambassadors and viceroys.

Today history has taken a terrible revenge on the false pretences of Liberalism. The wheel has turned full circle, and there is in many countries a large and increasing swing over towards the opposite extreme, towards what is called anti-Semitism.

The word "anti-Semitism" is as grotesque and misleading as the thing—or as its opposite and no less pestiferous "ism," Aryanism. The word Semite, like the word Aryan, is largely a philological term; it refers to liguistic groups and has in itself little or nothing to do with religion or race. The ancient Carthaginians were Semites, and so are the modern Arabs; but anti-Semitism does not include them. Nevertheless the word, ugly and misleading as it is, has been sanctioned by usage; everybody knows what it means, and we adopt it for the sake of convenience.

Anti-Semitism is purely and simply hatred of the Jews as such, with all the gradations of passion and violence and slander that hatred can engender—and with one end in view, the elimination of the Jews, if not completely, then from the immediate surroundings. Whether it takes the form of the calculated and organized brutality of Dr. Julius Streicher or Klu-Klux-Klan, or the spontaneous violence of infuriated mobs, it is the same in essence and inspiration. Its usual

themes are that Israel is conspiring to overthrow the world and reduce it to slavery; that it aims at corrupting and subverting Christianity morally; that the Jews are glutted with gold and that Jewish finance is strangling the human race; that they are guilty of ritual murder; that they foster the white-slave traffic; that they are the power behind Bolshevism, Freemasonry, munition factories, and what not—that they are, in a word, responsible for every crime and every misery, and that all would be well with humanity if we could have done once for all with this diabolical race.

It is hardly necessary to examine critically this contradictory mass of hysterical abuse. It is so obviously fanatical that it reminds one of nothing more than the shriller type of Orangeman who believes that Catholic priests have cloven hooves or that the Pope is the abandoned Woman of Babylon. Needless to say, in the mouth of any Christian anti-Semitism is deplorable and contemptible. To use violence or to provoke violence against a Jew because he is a Jew is, of course, treachery to Christ; and to bear false witness is to break a divine commandment. Consequently, it goes without saying that no Catholic can be an anti-Semite. (If ecclesiastical decisions are looked for, one can find them in a decree of the Holy Office of the 24 December 1928 and in a document of the Congregation of Studies of the 13 April 1938).

The charge has been made that the Church itself has been perilously near to anti-Semitism and has more than once persecuted the Jews. But whatever sins have been committed by Catholics against the Jews (and they are many and grave), the Church itself has never been guilty. Some Popes, like Paul IV, were unkind to them; but the vast majority of the Popes have defended them—especially against the absurd accusations of ritual murder and slanderous forgeries like "The Protocols of Sion." Those who have doubts on the matter can dissipate them by reading the great Jewish historians themselves, like Graetz (no friend of Christians) or Deutsch. The treatment of Jews in the Papal States was not always what we should like it to have been; but it was always better than anywhere else in the world, except in

Ireland, which alone of western European nations is free from the reproach of inhumanity to them. The Popes indeed made some wise rules which, to a superficial observer, might seem oppressive—such as that no Jew might have a Christian slave, but that was necessary according to Talmudic prescriptions or in protection of the Jews themselves. The Popes constantly rebuked those over-zealous Christians who forcibly baptized Jews, or the persecutors who robbed and harried them. Even Voltaire admitted that Rome was a Jewish paradise. The names of Gregory the Great, Alexander II, Gregory IX, Innocent IV, Boniface VIII, Sixtus V, Pius IX—these are bright lights against the surrounding darkness; and these are only a few of the long line of papal protectors of the Jews gloriously coming down to Pius XI, who gave the eternal formula of it all in the words: "Noi siamo spiritualmente Semiti—we Catholics are spiritual Semites." And how could it be otherwise? How could we hate and despise the rock from which we are hewn? Or raise our hands in violence against the descendants of a race whom God singled out as His chosen people, of a race who gave us our Divine Lord, the most perfect of Jews, His Blessed Mother, the flower of the race, the Apostles and the early Popes? Any Christian who persecutes a Jew on any plea, and especially on the plea that his ancestors crucified Christ, is deaf to the words of Christ crucified himself: "Father, forgive them, for they know what they do."

Not only does anti-Semitism stand condemned by every test of faith and humanity; it stands condemned also by failure to achieve its own end. For it is the paradox of anti-Semitism that it always strengthens the Jew by strengthening his religious consciousness. Never has violence failed so signally as in his case. Every shade of repression: mass deportations, inquisitions, massacres, ghettos—they have all dismally failed. Anti-Semitism achieves nothing but the untold suffering of the oppressed and the brutalisation of the oppressor. I have said that Ireland is one of the few nations free from the charge of inhumanity towards the Jews. We, who have suffered so much persecution for our own faith and kith,

must hope and strive that our record shall never be sullied.

Still it would be folly to shut our eyes to the fact of anti-Semitism just because we deplore its existence. To defeat it, it is not enough to denounce it. We must examine and expose some of the charges on which it rests.

It is quite simple to dispose of many of them. Take the outcry against Jewish riches. The Jews are one of the poorest people on the face of the earth. For half-a-dozen financiers you can point to half-a-dozen millions of poor Jews living on the verge of starvation. That is not so obvious to us, who have no parallel to the huge ghettos of eastern Europe and who meet only the successful businessman or cinema-proprietor or real estate owner. But anyone who has travelled in eastern Germany, in Poland, in the Balkans, who has even visited Leeds or London, knows that the overwhelming majority of the Jews are wretchedly poor. Indeed one of the commonest of Jewish complaints against the Gentiles is precisely that he is ground down in poverty.

In answer to this it is sometimes said that you never see a poor Jewish navvy or blacksmith or farmer, and that there is a far greater proportion of successful businessmen amongst the Jews than in any other community. That is true; but why is it true? It is true because for centuries the Jew was not allowed to own land or enter a closed craft or a profession, and consequently he had no means of making a living except through business, whether small peddling or big commerce or money-lending. It is not, therefore, surprising if he excelled in business; nor is it fair to blame him for being successful at the only thing he was allowed to do. And the proof that, if he gets a chance, he can be a superb tradesman or agriculturist, is seen in his achievements in Palestine in the last two decades.

Still it would be quite disingenuous to suggest that there is nothing at all in the complaints about Jewish financial practices. The preponderance of Jews in international finance, in money-lending, (the charge of usury against them runs with monotonous regularity throughout the

centuries), their battening on unpaid insurance premiums, their taking advantage of bankruptcy laws—these things cannot be dismissed as absolutely without foundation. But the point nearly always overlooked is this: that the Jews are by no means the only people guilty of such things; and consequently to put these abominations down to "the Jews" as such is a libel. It is worse than a libel, because it distracts people's attention from the real issue. That some Jews are guilty of usury is true. But so are many Gentiles. That some Jews pursue shady business methods and take advantage of bankruptcy laws and lapsed premiums is true. But so do many Gentiles. Moreover, if these social plagues are popularly connected with Jews, many more serious plagues can never be laid at their door—alcoholism, for instance, which is almost unknown amongst them, or violence and homicide. The proper course to take in these matters, instead of uselessly dissipating our energies and emotions by making scapegoats of the Jews, is to attack the causes. If usury is an abomination, why attack the Jews only? Why not attack the laws that allow anybody, whether Jew or Gentile, to practise it? If the bankruptcy laws allow of injustice and evasion, the laws rather than the Jews should be the object of censure and reform. If gambling on the Stock Exchange leads to human misery, it is the commercial law, not the Jews, which ought to bear the blame. If Protestants or Catholics make fortunes out of rack-renting tenements or doubtful instalment methods, nobody shouts "Away with Protestants" or "Away with Catholics." They shout "Away with the laws that allow such things." Why should we act otherwise with the Jews? For the unscrupulous Gentile will take advantage of these opportunities as well as the unscrupulous Jew; and I cannot help thinking that the real, if subconscious, cause of complaint is that the Jew is too clever for his rivals; that the Jew has offended largely because he has beaten his opponents at their own game. We shall not get rid of these troubles by persecuting the Jews; for there will be many only too ready to take their place. We shall solve them only by transforming the social and economic

structure so that it will render such crimes impossible for anyone, no matter who he may be or whence he may come.

Am I then suggesting that the Jew really is like everybody else, and putting forward under another guise the Liberal conception I have already been at pains to demolish? No; and here, I think, we come to the root of the question. For when we are talking of virtues or faults in others, we talk in terms of nationalities: of Englishmen, Americans, Frenchmen, Italians. But in the case of the Jew we are talking, not of a national, but of an international community; not of a people rooted and at home in one place, but of a people uprooted and at home nowhere. For example, there are American, English and French millionaires. But who else than the Jews could produce a family like the Rothschilds, with five millionaire brothers or cousins dominating finance, not in one country, but in the five great capitals of Europe? Where else would we hear so frequently of a university professor in London who has a brother a communist leader in Moscow, another a banker in Frankfurt, and a third a bookmaker in New York? It may not be fair to blame any of these for the position or power of the others. We do not do that if one son of an Irish family becomes a gangster in Chicago and another a respectable shipowner in Sydney. But the emigrants of every other nation either become absorbed in their new surroundings or remain as they were. The son of Irish parents in New York or Melbourne calls himself either an American or an Australian or an Irishman. But everywhere the Jew is a Jew. He is not national; he is international. He is not fixed; he is "déraciné"; he is ready to take up his tent-pegs at any moment and settle somewhere else. This, it seems to me, is the root of the trouble. Normally the nation contains the family. But with the Jews the family is scattered among the nations; and since family ties are stronger, more intimate and more personal than national ties, this means that the Jew is an alien body in every nation. To quote a distinguished Jewish authority, Rabbi B. J. Solomons (at Montefiore College, Ramsgate, 5 April 1908): "We form a nation within a nation in what-

ever land we pitch our tents. With few exceptions, we intermarry amongst ourselves and thus maintain the purity of our race; and our internal laws and religious tenets tend to preserve the peculiar individuality of our people."

Now, just as in an organism an alien body irritates, so does an alien community in a country—especially an alien community of people like the Jews who were old and great and civilized when our ancestors were savages, whose history is absolutely unique, whose talents are unquestionable, and whose religious and racial conservatism is extraordinarily tenacious. When the gifts and traditional training of the Jews are such that with comparative ease, though a minority, they succeed in obtaining an outstanding place in business, in the various professions, in politics, and particularly in finance, the other members of the community begin to ask themselves: "Who is the master here? Is it the Jews or ourselves? Is this to be tolerated in our own household?"

At first the protest is raised in all sincerity; and there are reasonable ways of meeting it. But if the reasonable way is not taken, then sooner or later the protest asserts itself in one of those pogroms that have sullied the pages of history from ancient Rome to modern Germany: thousands of innocent Jews, old and young, men and women and children, are insulted and pillaged and beaten and massacred.

The first fact to face then is that the Jews are an alien community wherever they are; and consequently it is a source of constant danger to the Jews themselves if they do not recognize this fact and act upon it. How are they to act upon it? I see only two possibilities: first, the formation of a Jewish State which will act as fatherland; secondly, the formation of legally recognized and protected Jewish groups within other communities. The first way, the erection of a Jewish State, is the way of Zionism. Zionism was born by the disgust of a great Austrian Jew, Theodor Herzl, with the anti-Jewish outburst over the Dreyfus Affair. He espoused, with feeling and eloquence, the thesis that nothing could save Israel but a Jewish State, a Jewish country. The idea swept through the Jewish world like a fire, and in a

short time Theodor Herzl was able to stand before the Sultan of Turkey and offer to buy Palestine. The request was refused. Then Joseph Chamberlain, at that time British Secretary of State for the Colonies, offered to Israel a fertile and beautiful territory in East Africa—in Uganda. Herzl and many of his followers were enthusiastic; but a determined minority would have nothing but Palestine, and Herzl died of a broken heart when the Zionist Congress refused the offer. The leader of the minority was Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a Russian Jew, who afterwards became Lecturer in Chemistry in Manchester University, in the constituency of Arthur Balfour. We have it on the authority of that distinguished Orientalist, Sir Ronald Storrs, that Dr. Weizmann's chemical genius saved Britain from a lack of T.N.T. in the last war. At any rate, Mr. Balfour took up his ideas on Zionism and recommended them to his Government and to the Supreme Council of the Allies; and in 1917 the famous Balfour Declaration, favouring the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine, was issued to the world. The subsequent history of the scheme is fresh in the public mind. It has been dogged with alternating periods of hope and despair, and today its future is highly questionable. But even if it could have been a local success, the hopes placed in it as a solution for the Jewish problem throughout the world could never have been anything but an illusion. For Palestine could not have attracted anything but a small minority of world Jewry; the *diaspora* throughout the nations would have remained, and the Jewish problem is essentially a problem of the *diaspora*.

The Jews, to return to our argument, have a home nowhere. That brings us to the second solution—that since they have a home nowhere, they must have one everywhere; in other words, that it behoves other peoples, and especially Christian peoples, to receive them as their guests. But—and here is the crux—in what numbers and under what conditions of hospitality? That there must be, in the interests of the Jews themselves, some limits and some conditions the sad history of Jewry proves. To claim unrestricted rights

of immigration and unlimited liberty of action, as some Jews claim, is to ignore human psychology, and to ignore human psychology is to look for trouble. It is surely reasonable that the numbers and conditions of immigration should be regulated by the vital interests of both parties. It is not anti-Semitic to suggest, for instance, that in the interests of the Jews themselves, huge concentrations of Jews in any one town should be discouraged. It is obvious that danger lurks in a situation like that of New York, where they form nearly one-third of the population. It is not anti-Semitic, but in the interests of the Jews themselves, to suggest that they should be refused a preponderance far in excess of their numbers in the political, financial, professional or educational institutions of the communities in which they live. It is not anti-Semitic to have the wise regulation, existing in Eire, that 51 per cent. at least of the capital of new companies shall be held by nationals, and to extend a similar rule, if necessary, to the ownership of lands and houses. How to bring about all these arrangements—whether by quota or, far preferably, by negotiation and agreement with the heads of the Jewish communities—is not an easy question to answer; but the question is certainly not answered by calling it anti-Semitic. Humanly speaking, friction is inevitable if a community is liable to be invaded in great numbers by an alien body of great capacity and industry; and the only way to prevent that is to recognize the danger and act accordingly. We may not like such a solution; we might prefer if things were otherwise; but they are not, and it is a fatal error, as the world should know by now, to confuse what we should like to be with what is.

But it is not my province to suggest in any further detail the practical steps which both Jews and the Governments under which they live should take to improve the position. I need only refer to the wise solutions sketched by two great Catholic friends of the Jews: the late ever-lamented G. K. Chesterton and Mr. Hilaire Belloc. Chesterton's suggestion was that the cantonal arrangement once outlined for Palestine (some Jewish cantons, some Arab) might be extended outside

Palestine; that, in a word, we should deal with Jews not as scattered individuals, but as groups—groups with special laws and exemptions (exemption from military service, for instance). Belloc, on the whole, agrees; but he is averse from beginning with legal changes and constitutional arrangements. He prefers to let the Jews themselves make the advances, appointing their own representative bodies and approaching the various Governments with definite proposals. But one or other of these methods imposes itself as the only *via media*, as the traditional Catholic middle path between the two extremes of Liberalism, which denies the existence of the problem, and anti-Semitism, which almost denies existence to the Jews.

Yet, when all is said and done, there remains a mystery at the heart of the question. I am acutely conscious that I have dealt, from the purely natural standpoint, with a question which is indissociable from the supernatural. There is a story told of a Prussian King who once asked the court chaplain to give a short argument for the truth of the Bible. "The Jews, Sire," he answered; and there is more in the answer than an epigram. For Jewry has a mystic significance. Indeed Jacques Maritain has found it possible to speak of "the mystical body of Israel," a kind of unfaithful spouse who through the centuries tracks like a jealous shadow the true spouse, the mystical body of the Catholic Church. Here we are simply the awed spectators of the working out of the divine economy for the salvation of the world—the salvation of Israel included.

The lines of that economy in the past we know. Thousands of years ago God drew the Jewish people from the seed of Abraham as a people of benediction. They had as their supreme head Jehovah; as their legislator, Moses; as their kings, Saul, David, Solomon; as their prophets, Elias, Isaias and all the seers who, ten centuries beforehand, foretold the wonders of the Gospel. And when the fullness of time was come, the Synagogue brought forth the Messias—but, after having awaited Him from the beginning, handed Him over to the Gentiles and refused to acknowledge Him. What now characterizes the Jewish people above all else is that it is

still the people of expectation. But whereas before Our Lord that expectation was its glory and its grace, it has now for two thousand years been its torment and its torture. The Synagogue, once the well-loved spouse, is now repudiated, and the Catholic Church has become the spouse of Christ.

But it is written that Israel will be converted and that to the period of misery and blindness will succeed a period of joy and light. St. Paul, that great Israelite, wrote in the Epistle to Romans these sublime words: "Brethren, the will of my heart, indeed, and my prayer to God is for them unto salvation . . . . There is no distinction of Jew or Greek; for the same is Lord over all . . . . But to Israel he saith: All the day long have I spread my hands to a people that believeth not and contradicteth me . . . . I say then: Hath God cast away His people? God forbid . . . . They also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in . . . . For if thou wert cut out of the wild olive tree . . . . and wert grafted into the good olive tree, how much more shall they that are the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree? For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, of this mystery . . . . that blindness in part has happened in Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles should come in."

In the meantime, we must extend the hand of fraternal charity to them as they stumble in their darkness and their blindness. Whether, when they do see the light, the end of time will have come is a question which St. Paul raises without solving. In the midst of these mysteries we can only join with the Church in praying for the conversion of Israel, as she has done for nigh two thousand years. We can do little but prepare the festive table and await the return of the Prodigals. We are waiting still; but, some day not given to us to know, humanity will see the heads of both Jew and Gentile resting on the breast of the Vicar of Christ, their hands intertwined in friendship, all hatreds forgotten, the wall of separation broken to the ground, and there shall at last be one fold and one shepherd.

ARTHUR H. RYAN

ARTERIAL DRAINAGE IN IRELAND

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

SO many world-stirring events have to be recorded in the attenuated columns of the wartime newspapers that several less dramatic or less urgent subjects fail to receive the attention they deserve. Amongst these relatively neglected pieces of news must be included the publication of the Report of the Drainage Commission 1938–40.[1] The terms of reference of this Commission were :—

> To consider the whole question of land drainage (excluding field drainage), with special reference to the technical, administrative, financial and legal aspects of the problem, and to submit recommendations as to :—
>
> (1) How an efficient system of drainage, reasonably consonant with requirements and calculated to facilitate future land reclamation, can best be secured.
> (2) The provisions which should be made for the proper maintenance of existing and future drainage works.
> (3) How the cost of drainage works and their maintenance could most equitably be apportioned amongst the various interests concerned.
> (4) The changes (if any) in the existing law and administrative system which would be necessary to give effect to the recommendations.

The Report, which is unanimous subject to reservations by two members, will well repay study by all interested in Irish economic policy. Not only is arterial drainage of great importance in itself, but, in addition, many interesting questions of a more general nature arise in the course of the discussion.

It is almost exactly a century since the first Act of Parliament was passed dealing with arterial drainage in Ireland. During that century the subject has been exhaustively investigated by commissions of inquiry and has been dealt with by the legislature on several occasions. Apart from the exceptional cases of the Shannon, Barrow and

[1] Dublin : Stationery Office. 1941. 2s.

Owenmore rivers, which have been specially treated, arterial drainage legislation can be classified under the 1842 Code, the 1863 Code, the Maintenance Acts of 1866 and 1924, the Irish Free State Act 1925 and the Minor Schemes Act 1928. The principal inquiries into the subject were the Allport Commission which reported in 1887,[1] the Binnie Commission which reported in 1907,[2] and the Commission whose report has just been published. In studying the history of arterial drainage in Ireland two fundamental changes in the institutional background must be borne in mind. The Land Purchase Acts replaced a small number of large landowners by a large number of small tenant proprietors, and the Local Government Act of 1898 created new popularly elected bodies which came to play an important part in the work of drainage. These changes made necessary revisions in the administration of arterial drainage.

Under the 1842 Code it was the duty of the Board of Works, on receipt of a memorial from one or more proprietors of lands injuriously affected by floods, to devise plans, prepare estimates, obtain assents and carry out the necessary drainage works. A scheme could not proceed without the assents of the owners of two thirds (afterwards reduced to one half) of the lands proposed to be drained and improved. The maintenance of each drainage district was placed in the hands of elected trustees. Under this Code 115 drainage districts were created and 244,117 acres of land were improved at a capital cost of £1,324,495. It was the intention of the legislature that the full cost of these works should be borne by the lands improved. Owing to the Famine, however, drainage was extensively used as relief work. Schemes were rushed, plans were not fully matured, and destitution was made the test for employment. Consequently the Government came to the assistance of the landowners, and the final allocation of responsibility for the capital cost of the works was 51·9 per cent. Government grant and 48·1 per cent. charged on the benefited lands. Under the 1863 Code, the

[1] *First Report of Royal Commission on Irish Public Works* 1887, C. 5038.
[2] *Report of Arterial Drainage Commission (Ireland)* 1905, C. 3374.

plans were prepared, estimates made and works carried out by the landowners. The functions of the Board of Works were to examine the merits of the schemes and, if satisfied, to advance the money required and charge the expenditure on the lands improved. The maintenance of each district was entrusted to an elected drainage board. With a couple of minor exceptions, the whole cost of the works was charged on the benefited lands. Under this Code 63 drainage districts were created and 130,256 acres of land were improved at a capital cost of £859,766.

From the outset the system of maintenance by elected trustees and boards proved a failure. Under the Drainage Maintenance Act of 1866 the Commissioners of Public Works were empowered, on the receipt of a local complaint, to enter a district in which maintenance had been neglected, to execute the necessary works and to charge the cost on the landowners in the district by a terminable annuity. The Local Government Act of 1898 enabled the Local Government Board to transfer a drainage district to a County Council. The powers contained in these two Acts were extensively employed. Maintenance works, however, continued to be neglected, and many districts fell into a serious state of disrepair. Under the Drainage Maintenance Act 1924 the Commissioners for Public Works were empowered to carry out all necessary repair works. The State and County Councils were authorized to afford assistance by free grant up to a specified amount, and the portion of the cost not covered by such grants was to be advanced by the Commissioners by way of loan and charged upon the improved lands and, in default, on the county funds. When the works were completed, the district was to be transferred for future control and maintenance to the County Council. The expenditure under this Act, exclusive of expenditure out of unemployment relief funds, was £182,757 of which 25·5% was contributed by the State, 4·1% by County Councils and 70·4% by occupiers. The results of this Act have been disappointing. Many districts were in need less of repairs than of radical reconstruction, the relief of unemployment rather than the maintenance of

the drainage works was frequently the deciding factor in the choice of the areas treated, the work was inefficient, badly supervised and expensive. The interests of occupiers were in many cases subordinated to those of the unemployed labourers in the district, with the natural result that the collection of the drainage rate was resented.

The Act of 1924, which failed to solve the problem of the neglect of maintenance and repairs, contained no provision for the constitution of new districts or for the execution of drainage works outside existing districts. Owing to the operation of the Land Purchase Acts, the 1863 Code was no longer suitable and new legislation was imperatively necessary. The Arterial Drainage Act of 1925 provides that any six or more rated occupiers may present a petition to the County Council, which forwards the petition, if approved by the county surveyor, to the Commissioners of Public Works, with an undertaking to maintain the proposed drainage district and to accept responsibility for the collection and repayment to the Commissioners of such portion of the capital cost as may be charged on the benefited lands. If the Commissioners approve of the proposal, they draft a scheme which is submitted to the rated occupiers. If occupiers representing more than half of the aggregate value of the lands concerned dissent, the scheme cannot proceed. If the voting is favourable the scheme is proceeded with, and, if confirmed by the Minister for Finance, the works are executed, and a final award is issued constituting the drainage district which is transferred to the County Council for future maintenance and management. The capital cost is provided by the State, the County Council and the occupiers in proportions laid down in the Act. The entire cost of maintenance is borne by the occupiers. The economic aspect of schemes is carefully examined under this Act. No occupier is required to contribute more than an annual sum representing the improved annual value of his lands, and, if the improved value is less than a certain proportion of the total cost of the works, the scheme is considered uneconomic and is consequently rejected. The backward condition of drainage

is shown by the very large number of petitions that have been presented. 51 schemes have been confirmed, and 68,225 acres have been improved at a cost of £573,206, of which 48·2% was contributed by the State, 28·8% by County Councils and 23% by occupiers.

In spite of the legislation of the last hundred years and of the activity to which it led, the position in regard to drainage to-day is by no means satisfactory. In one sweeping paragraph of the Report the Drainage Commission condemns the whole existing legislation and administration lock stock and barrel:—

> The present position of drainage is that construction work is practically at a standstill and the system of maintenance has broken down. If further progress is to be made in the way of new drainage works and if works already carried out are to be preserved, radical alterations will have to be made in the existing law, procedure, financial arrangements and administration.

The Commission recommends that drainage in future should be carried out "only by way of comprehensive schemes designed to deal with the entire drainage problem in individual catchment areas." Progress on this basis is not possible under the Act of 1925, which aims at the economic drainage of small areas, gives rise to administrative delays and difficulties, and has proved financially unworkable. The assent of occupiers should be no longer necessary. A comprehensive scheme for the whole country, which had been prepared by the Office of Public Works, was adopted by the Commission as the basis of its estimates. The approximate cost of this scheme is £7,035,000, of which £2,100,000 is in respect of outfall expenditure. If this scheme were adopted 586,200 acres would be directly benefited, of which 326,836 acres have already been dealt with under previous Acts and 259,364 acres represent new drainage areas. Indirect benefit would be afforded to other areas, including waterlogged land and bog the extent of which cannot be accurately forecast. 12,500 acres in the Shannon area would derive seasonal benefit. The establishment is recommended of a Central Drainage Authority with power to execute all drainage construction work and to take over the maintenance of existing and future works. The annual expenditure on construction should be about

£250,000. The whole cost of future construction works should be borne as a national charge, and the cost of maintenance should be borne for the first three years by the County Council and in later years by occupiers provided it does not exceed 70 per cent. of the assessed improved annual value.

These recommendations alter the entire basis of the administration and finance of arterial drainage. The economic test is frankly rejected. "If the value of drainage works is to be judged by economic results, calculated solely in terms of assessable improvement in land values, then it must be admitted that on this standard no comprehensive drainage programme can be regarded as an economic proposition." Several arguments are adduced in favour of divorcing the relation between benefit and cost, which had been the central principle of the older schemes. It is impossible to allocate the benefit of outfall expenditure; the more economic schemes have already been finished and future schemes will tend to become more uneconomic; a contribution from local authorities "cannot be expected . . . after due consideration of their present financial condition and of their present commitments for services more urgent than drainage;" and, finally, any contribution that occupiers could be asked to make would not be worth the trouble and expense of assessment and collection. More general considerations are invoked. "The tendency of modern legislation is to extend the area of charge for public services. Modern taxation and rating are based on ability to pay as well as on service rendered. As rivers have been provided by Nature to drain uplands as well as lowlands and perform a communal service, we do not consider it unjust that the doctrine of personal and direct benefit, while it should not be altogether abandoned, should be considerably modified." One member of the Commission, Mr. J. E. Hanna, in a reservation to the Report, disagrees with these arguments and the conclusion to which they lead:—

I feel that, in arriving at their recommendation as to the apportionment of charges, my colleagues have not had sufficient regard to the financial position of the Exchequer and the present level of taxation, or to the fact that the Exchequer also has very heavy commitments

for services more urgent—some of them, as I think, much more urgent —than drainage. The case for throwing the entire construction cost of the proposed Comprehensive Scheme on the State is in my view based, not on the fact that County Councils could not reasonably be expected to bear a proportion of the cost, but on the fact that they would not be willing to contribute. Expressed reluctance on the part of County Councils to make contributions does not in my opinion constitute an adequate justification for adoption of the facile method proposed in the Report for meeting the cost.

Mr. Hanna suggests that the State should not be asked to contribute more than 50 per cent. or, in exceptional cases, 60 per cent. of the capital cost of drainage works. In practice, however, it would probably be found that, unless the Exchequer advanced the cost of construction, drainage schemes would fail to make any progress.

Strictly speaking, the question whether the comprehensive scheme outlined by the Commission should be put into operation was not within the terms of reference of the inquiry. The Commission " doubt if our terms of reference permit us to attempt a reply to the question whether the State should undertake drainage work which is not sufficiently economic to justify placing at least a portion of its original cost on the lands directly benefited," but, in view of the importance of the matter, " consider it necessary to make some general comments on the subject." Several reasons are given to justify the undertaking of the scheme. Firstly, " arterial drainage is a national necessity. The physiographical peculiarities of the country render it imperative . . . In an agricultural country such as Ireland, arterial drainage must be classed as an essential service and the provision of essential services should not be governed entirely by economic considerations." Secondly, " an efficient system of drainage is an essential condition for good tillage, healthy pasture and the elimination of disease in farming stock." The improvement of agricultural production is of course the most cogent argument in favour of the scheme, which, it is estimated, would bring direct relief to 600,000 acres and indirect relief to other large tracts, which though not flooded are wet and retentive of water. Thirdly, the soil is progressively deteriorat-

ing through flooding, and its ultimate restoration will become increasingly costly. Fourthly, field drainage and land improvement are prevented by the absence of arterial drainage. In many districts additional land could be brought into cultivation, holdings could be enlarged, output expanded and employment increased. Fifthly, the development of the bogs in certain areas would be facilitated and all the consequential advantages of that development would be augmented. Sixthly, injury to public highways and bridges and dislocation of traffic and transport would be relieved. Seventhly, the public health in the flooded areas would be improved. Eighthly, unemployment would be reduced. The conclusions of the Commission on the amount of employment which arterial drainage would provide are very interesting in view of the exaggerated claims that are frequently made on this subject. On the assumption that mechanical plant is used as far as feasible, the average labour content on constructive work varies between 40 and 50 per cent. of the total cost and the unskilled labour content between 25 and 35 per cent. On maintenance work the average labour content, for the most part unskilled, varies from 70 to 80 per cent. The Commission reaches the conclusion that " drainage construction works do not afford a very satisfactory solution for unemployment." Even when the full scheme is in operation, employment would be afforded only for 1,500 unskilled men during the six months summer period and for 500 during the six months winter period. As most of the labour would be recruited from rural areas, the saving on unemployment assistance would not amount to much. The maintenance of completed works would provide a certain amount of employment for unskilled labour during the summer. The final argument adduced in favour of the scheme is that " apart altogether from the material consideration of benefit, we venture to submit that national pride demands that flooding conditions should not be tolerated in the country."

The validity of these arguments in favour of the operation of the comprehensive scheme is denied in a reservation by Mr. J. E. Hanna, who states that " the question whether

or not drainage should in fact be undertaken, either on a national or on a more restricted scale, should be determined by the Government themselves as a matter of policy." Mr. Hanna, while admitting that many of the benefits claimed as resulting from the scheme would be realized, dissents from the opinion that the purely economic aspects of the problem should be treated as relatively unimportant.

> Without question a scheme of the kind, for the reasons set forth in the Report, would be desirable, but with the burdens of national and local taxation so heavy as they now are I cannot agree that a scheme involving capital expenditure estimated in pre-war terms at not less than £7,035,000, with consequential continuing charges for maintenance, should be recommended for favourable consideration without some measure of regard to its economic value.

While estimates have been made of the cost of the scheme and of the amount of land benefited, no estimate has even been attempted of the vitally relevant question of the improved value of the land.

> I cannot subscribe to an expression of opinion in favour of the institution of a programme of works of the order contemplated where it is not apparent that the tangible benefits to be obtained would be substantial and certain, and commensurate with the demands upon the taxpayer and the ratepayer which the Comprehensive Scheme would involve.

All the available evidence derived from the valuation of land for the purposes of land purchase suggests that the cost of the scheme would outweigh the full improved value of the land affected by it. Similarly no estimate has been attempted of the economic value of the indirect results of the scheme on lands outside the area of direct benefit and on land reclamation and bog development. Mr. Hanna concludes that " there is a strong *prima facie* case for the presumption that the adoption, in its entirety, of the scheme would involve a dissipation rather than a creation of national wealth " and suggests that " the national economy would be much better served, and possibly at less cost, by the adoption of measures directed to improving the productive capacity of lands not subject to flooding than by carrying out on a very extensive

scale drainage works from which the economic return would be in large measure conjectural."

The social benefits of the scheme are equally conjectural. The adverse effect of flooding on the public health is not proven, and " the scheme would represent at best a palliative of very limited efficacy for unemployment, the cost of which would be out of all proportion to its value." Regarded as a source of social benefits, drainage ranks much lower than many other services, such for example as housing and schools, which have prior claim on whatever public money may be available. Mr. Hanna concludes :—

> On the principle of putting first things first, I am, therefore, strongly of opinion that save where the drainage of particular catchment areas could be justified on economic grounds, *i.e.*, where the return would be commensurate with construction and maintenance costs, or where it was ascertained after expert enquiry that drainage was necessary in the interests of public health, the undertaking of heavy expenditure on new arterial drainage works would not be warranted.

The difference of opinion between Mr. Hanna and his colleagues is interesting, not only in relation to the particular subject of drainage but in relation to the more general question of the proper field of public expenditure financed by borrowing. Since the publication of the Report of the Banking Commission in 1938, which recommended that the deadweight debt should not be increased, there has been considerable discussion on this subject which might have been clarified if certain underlying distinctions had been more generally appreciated. The distinction between deadweight and other debt needs to be carefully defined, and, in particular, it is necessary to grasp that the epithet " deadweight " is not in itself a term of condemnation or even of disapproval. Some of the most fully justifiable additions to the public indebtedness of every country are included among the deadweight debt, while much debt that is not deadweight may be difficult to justify. Deadweight debt is not necessarily economically unproductive or socially undesirable. What distinguishes deadweight from other debt is its effect on future budgets. All debt which needs taxation for its interest and repayment is deadweight,

quite irrespective of the purpose for which it is incurred. Public expenditure financed by borrowing has certain effects on a country's balance of payments and thus, indirectly, on the stability of its monetary system. The propriety of incurring debt for any purpose must be decided in the last resort by the Government, which must take into consideration the advantages to be gained by the expenditure of the borrowed money, the effect on future budgets and the repercussions on the monetary system through the balance of payments.

Public borrowing may be undertaken for expenditure of three kinds. Firstly, the expenditure may be self-liquidating in the sense that it creates assets the earnings of which are sufficient to provide interest and sinking fund on the loan. Secondly, the expenditure may be economically productive, even if not self-liquidating, if it increases the productivity of the community. In this case the interest and sinking fund will have to be met by the general taxpayer, but the taxable capacity of the country will have been expanded by the increase in the national income and the net burden of the necessary taxation thereby reduced. Thirdly, the expenditure may give rise to no direct or indirect increase of production or income. In this case the interest and sinking fund will fall on the general taxpayers whose taxable capacity will not have been expanded as a result of the loan. Expenditure in these three types may all be equally justified. The distinction between them is that expenditure of the first type is self-liquidating, whereas expenditure of the second and third types is not self-liquidating and consequently necessitates taxation in future budgets.

The Shannon Scheme is an example of expenditure of the first type. The capital for this Scheme was provided by public borrowing, but the sale of current will provide sufficient funds to pay the interest and sinking fund on all the borrowed capital. In many European countries railways and other similar services are owned by the State, but are completely self-liquidating and impose no charge on the taxpayer. The question whether such expenditure should be undertaken by the State must be decided in the light of the respective

advantages of private enterprise and public operation in respect of access to capital, efficiency of administration and other similar considerations. Assuming that the service is made to pay its way and that it is not utilized to impose concealed taxes on the community by the abuse of monopoly powers, expenditure on investments of this nature does not create any deadweight debt. Whatever other arguments may be brought forward against it, it cannot be criticized on the ground that it will create problems in the budgets of future years.

Expenditure of the second type is exemplified by investment in improving the quality of the population. The provision of general and technical education, health services and better housing does not create self-liquidating assets. Services of this kind are either free or subsidized and rarely, if ever, pay directly for themselves. Nevertheless in the course of a generation expenditure on education and public health may yield a rich reward by increasing the industrial capacity of the people and the national income. Expenditure on roads may not be directly recoverable by tolls charged on the users of the roads, but it may increase the national income by lowering the cost of agricultural marketing, by attracting tourists and in other indirect ways. Expenditure on agricultural improvements, for example raising the quality of a country's live stock, may ultimately add greatly to the national income. In all those cases, deadweight debt may be incurred, but the subsequent increase in the national income may more than outweigh the debt charges. The argument for " pump priming " or " spending out of a depression " is that expenditure financed by borrowing during a slump will generate such an upswing of private activity that the loans incurred in the slump years can be repaid during the ensuing boom. In all these cases deadweight debt is incurred, but the indirect increase in production and the national income endows the expenditure with a strictly economic justification.

The best example of expenditure of the third type is to be found in war. Countries in wartime greatly increase their national debts for the purpose of mutual destruction. Far

from the population being improved in quality or useful capital assets being created, life and capital are destroyed. War debts are entirely deadweight, but nobody questions their propriety since " defence is much more important than opulence." In peace time deadweight debt, with no indirect stimulus to production, is incurred to meet deficits on current expenditure, on relief schemes to provide work for the unemployed, on display, on monuments, on exhibitions of national pride. Borrowing for such expenditure is not necessarily bad in itself, but it definitely creates difficulties for future generations of taxpayers. The objects of the expenditure are neither self-liquidating nor indirectly productive. Interest and sinking fund on the loans must therefore be provided for in future budgets. It may be said that an internal debt imposes no real burden on a community because it involves only a transfer between the taxpayers and the fund-holders, who are indeed frequently identical. While this is of course true, the indirect effects of a large public debt, especially in a country whose national income is not rapidly increasing, may be pernicious. High rates of taxation may discourage saving and enterprise, and the existence of a large and inelastic debt charge may prevent the imposition of taxes for socially beneficial purposes. While it is always desirable that the budget should balance, it is better that it should balance at a low than at a high level. Borrowing that results in deadweight debt, therefore, can be justified only for objects of unquestionable national or social advantage.

The immediate effect on the balance of payments of public expenditure financed by borrowing is adverse. The additional incomes generated by the expenditure are spent in part on imports and in part on home-produced commodities that would otherwise have been exported. Imports tend to rise and exports to fall. If the result of the expenditure is to raise internal prices and costs relatively to those prevailing elsewhere, the adverse effect on the balance of payments is accentuated. If on the other hand the result of the expenditure is to reduce costs of production, especially in

the export industries, the adverse effect may be neutralized or outweighed. If, for example, expenditure on agricultural education and the improvement of agricultural methods were to reduce costs in agriculture, exports might ultimately be increased and the final effect of the expenditure on the balance of payments would be favourable. The reason that led the Banking Commission so strongly to condemn the increase of the deadweight debt incurred in respect of schemes of land settlement was that these schemes tend to raise the cost of agricultural production and to reduce the quantity of exportable surplus. The adverse effect of public expenditure on the balance of payments will be further accentuated if the loans are raised not from current savings but by the realization of external investments. In this case invisible exports will be reduced and the creditor status of the country impaired. That such a transfer of investment, which is sometimes euphemistically described as a repatriation of capital, is in certain circumstances justified is unquestionable; but, before it can be justified, it must be proved that the value of the advantages, economic and uneconomic, of the home investment is greater than that of the invisible exports which are sacrificed. In any event such transfers of old savings cannot continue indefinitely, and it is generally a safe rule that investment within any given period should be financed out of the current savings of the community. As the amount of such savings is limited, they must be directed to the most desirable uses. In a free capital market the distribution of savings among demands of competing urgency is secured by the mechanism of the rate of interest. Where, as is usually the case to-day, the Government is the principal borrower and where, as is also the case, the Government borrows for many purposes that are neither self-liquidating nor indirectly productive, it is essential that the competing claims of the numerous alternative investments should be most carefully arranged in the order of their relative urgency and importance.

The foregoing general considerations are applicable to expenditure on arterial drainage. No part of the expenditure

proposed in the Report of the Commission on Drainage is self-liquidating. The fact that the owners of the benefited lands are to be asked to contribute only to the cost of maintenance, and that the full capital charges of the scheme will fall on the taxpayer, indicate that the whole of the proposed expenditure will form an addition to the deadweight debt. It must next be asked to what extent the scheme would be productive in the sense that it would, by its indirect effects, add to the national income and thus enable the resulting debt charges to be more easily borne. There is no doubt that much land not directly benefited would be rendered less liable to flooding, that other areas would be reclaimed for cultivation, and that the development of the bogs would be facilitated. In so far as the scheme led to an improvement of the public health the productivity of the population might be increased, and the employment given on construction and maintenance would add to the output of labour. The combined effect of these results of the scheme would doubtless add something to the national income, but the extent of such addition is nowhere estimated. There is no reason to believe, in the absence of proof, that the increased production would be in any way commensurate with the debt charges incurred on the scheme; and in any event the whole of that charge would continue to be collected from the taxpayer. It is only fair to the members of the Commission to state that they do not pretend that the scheme can be justified on purely economic grounds. Indeed they expressly disclaim any such pretence. The drainage work which they recommend is "not sufficiently economic to justify the placing of at least portion of its original cost on the lands directly benefited;" and the reasons given in support of the recommendation are that "drainage is a national necessity," that "arterial drainage is an essential service and the provision of essential services should not be governed entirely by economic considerations" and that "national pride demands that flooding conditions should not be tolerated in the country." The recommendations of the Commission, if carried out, will admittedly increase the deadweight debt, and it is the duty of the Government

to consider them in the light of the economic and non-economic advantages caused by the expenditure and of the competing claims of other social services for the capital available out of the current savings of the country.

It remains to consider the effect of the proposed scheme of drainage on the balance of payments. The scheme would not directly produce any considerable adverse result. The labour incomes generated would not be large and the supplies of imported machinery would be negligible. In this respect expenditure on drainage compares favourably with expenditure on housing. Exports might in the long run be stimulated by the scheme in so far as it led to an increase of agricultural production caused by a reduction of flooding and the reclamation and improvement of sub-marginal lands. The effect on invisible exports would depend upon the extent to which the necessary borrowing was financed by the sale of external investments. As the expenditure is proposed to take place at the rate of about £250,000 annually, there is no reason why that amount should not be provided from current savings. The expenditure on drainage would not however, it must be remembered, be the only expenditure calling for borrowing by the State, and the question is, not whether any particular part of that expenditure would necessitate the realization of external investments, but whether the whole of it would be possible without some such liquidation. The effect of the scheme on the balance of payments could not be estimated without a careful inquiry into every aspect of public indebtedness. Indeed the discussion of the issues raised by the Report of the Drainage Commission reinforces the recommendation of the Banking Commission that all proposals involving the State in prolonged capital obligations should be closely scrutinized, at an early stage and before any final commitments are made in respect of them, by a Debt and Investment Council.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

A CORK CENTENARY

BY JOHN J. HORGAN

THE centenary of the *Cork Examiner*, which began publication on August 30 1841, is an event of more than local importance and deserves wider notice. Founded by a famous Irishman, John Francis Maguire, at a moment when the country was just emerging from national and religious servitude and dedicated to work for the achievement of its liberty and prosperity, the *Examiner's* record as a journal of national opinion constitutes an interesting and important page in our national history. It was not of course the first Cork newspaper. The earliest Cork journal appears to have been the *Freeholder*, a small single sheet which first appeared in 1716. Several other journals, most of which had a precarious existence, were started in succeeding years by persons who had causes to support, principles to preach, or even opponents to libel. In 1841 the only survivors of these journals were the *Cork Constitution*, a commercial newspaper of strong conservative tendencies and the *Southern Reporter* of more popular views. The *Constitution*, which eventually became the more or less official mouthpiece of the landlords and Southern Unionists, expired in 1922 when its printing plant was destroyed during the Civil War. In 1851 the *Cork Herald* succeeded the *Reporter* as a rival to the *Examiner*. It survived for fifty years until 1901, when it also expired as the result of taking a pro-British attitude during the Boer War. Its copyright and effects were purchased by the *Cork Examiner*. The only other serious challenge to the *Examiner* was made by the *Cork Free Press*, which was started in 1910 by Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., primarily as a political organ for the promulgation of his views. It became a weekly paper in 1915 and expired the following year. The *Cork Examiner* and its subsidiary publications, the *Evening Echo* and the *Weekly Examiner*, are now therefore the only newspapers published in Cork city.

1841—the year in which the *Cork Examiner* first appeared—

was marked by the revival of O'Connell's agitation for the Repeal of the Union. Twelve years before, in 1829, he had won Catholic Emancipation but at a dear price, for it was only granted on condition that the forty-shilling freeholders should be deprived of their votes, and the Irish electorate was thus reduced from about 200,000 to 26,000. None the less it was a great victory for "agitation within the law" and still more so for the man who had brought that agitation into being and was henceforth to be justly known as the Liberator. From 1835 to 1840 O'Connell had suspended the agitation for Repeal and, in alliance with the English Whigs, supported Lord Melbourne's Ministry at Westminster. Ireland gained little by the compact, and no reforms of any importance were carried out. But now at last the alliance was broken and O'Connell, with the support of the Catholic Church and Young Ireland, again took up the agitation for Repeal. The stage was set for great and tragic events. The Great Famine was yet to come, the Great Exodus to follow. The forces of reform were also at work in other directions. An Act had just been passed which in effect abolished the old corrupt municipal corporations based on a privileged franchise who had handed out jobs, contracts, and property to their families and friends. The administration of the principal Irish cities and towns passed to the representatives of the people. O'Connell was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin and Thomas Lyons, Mayor of Cork, the first Catholics to fill these offices for one hundred and fifty years.

It was in this momentous year that John Francis Maguire decided to start the evening paper, published three times a week, which he called the *Cork Examiner*. Its first number proclaimed that it "must flourish or must fall according to the opinion formed of its usefulness and honesty," and that its usefulness must mainly depend upon the honesty with which its columns were devoted "not to personal or private ends, but to the welfare and interests of the whole community." It went on to say that "the full realization of Irish liberty is alone to be consummated by the united energy of her sons, by their courage in the hour of pressing danger, by their

vigilance in the moment of seeming security, but above and beyond all, by their firm and unbroken union." "Our desire shall be," it added, "to advance the march of peaceable and strictly constitutional agitation, to awaken men's minds to a right knowledge of passing events, pregnant as they are with the deepest interest to the individual no less than the community, and eagerly to excite them to a constant activity in seeking for the secure possession of those rights, so long and cruelly withheld from them by the cold, selfish and tyrannical policy of the English nation." In accordance with these principles the new paper made it clear that it supported O'Connell's movement for Repeal, demanding at the same time Triennial Parliaments, vote by ballot and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. To these principles, thus enunciated in the first number, and particularly to what it described as "one great, one paramount object—the service of Ireland"—the proprietors of the *Cork Examiner* may justly claim that they have remained faithful during the succeeding century.

This achievement is principally due to the distinguished men who have guided its policy during that period. John Francis Maguire, the founder of the paper, was himself a remarkable man. The eldest son of John Maguire, a leading Cork merchant, he was born in 1815—the year of Waterloo—and was called to the Irish Bar in 1843. But journalism and politics rather than law soon claimed his whole attention. He remained faithful to O'Connell until the end and in 1847 stood as Repeal candidate for Dungarvan against Richard Lalor Shiel, the candidate of the Young Ireland party. He was only beaten by fifteen votes. In 1852 he again stood for the same constituency and this time was successful. He continued to represent Dungarvan until 1865, when he was elected for his native city of Cork, a seat which he held until his death. In the columns of the *Examiner* and outside it he consistently advocated and supported a policy of independent opposition in the British House of Commons and became the virtual leader of an Irish parliamentary group pledged to resist every British Government that refused to concede

tenant right, church disestablishment and other national demands. In many respects he was the forerunner of Parnell and, unlike some other Irish politicians of that period, he consistently declined offers of office made to him by both English parties. In 1853 his party voted Lord Derby out of office because his government had refused to make concessions to Ireland. Subsequently Palmerston was returned to power by their votes.

Maguire was particularly interested in the reform of the Irish land system and was the first to demand the granting of the three F's—fixity of tenure, fair rent, and freedom of sale—based on the Ulster Custom. This demand was one of the principal planks in the programme of the Tenant League of 1852 and eventually proved the Magna Charta of the Irish tenants. In 1858 Maguire introduced a Tenants Compensation Bill and finally, in 1860, forced the British Government to accept the principle of this measure. Subsequently he was appointed Chairman of a Select Committee which reported on the Irish land system. One of the results of his labours was the Land Act of 1870, which greatly enlarged the tenants' rights, if it did not concede all Maguire's demands. He had however helped to lay the foundations for the subsequent radical reform of the land system, which in our time has ended in the establishment of complete peasant proprietorship. In 1868 he moved a resolution in the House of Commons on the state of Ireland and stressed the unfairness of maintaining an official church which only represented a fraction of the population. This motion elicited from Gladstone his first historic declaration in favour of disestablishment. In educational questions Maguire was also a pioneer, advocating strongly the development of popular education, particularly of a technical nature. He was a strong advocate of the temperance movement and a devoted friend of Father Mathew, the Apostle of Temperance, whose biography he subsequently wrote. In the industrial field Maguire was also much ahead of his time and in favour of wide developments. He tried to introduce the linen industry into the South and was instrumental in securing the establishment of a naval dockyard

at Cove. All these causes and projects received the consistent support of his paper, and the *Cork Examiner* played a valuable part in securing their advancement or achievement. He was also interested in local administration and held the office of Mayor of Cork on four occasions.

Maguire was a devout Catholic and published two books dealing with the Pontificate of Pius IX. His services to the Church were recognised by his creation as a Knight of St. Gregory. He travelled widely, visiting Rome on several occasions and also America. His book on *The Irish in America* was quoted by Gladstone as an authority on that subject. His other books included *The Industrial Movement in Ireland*, a novel, and a collection of fairy tales. This versatile and distinguished man died on November 1, 1872 at the age of 56.

For many years before his death Maguire had, owing to his many public interests, to delegate the editing of the *Examiner* to a young Cork Journalist, Thomas Crosbie, a brilliant writer with a sound knowledge of the business side of newspaper production. Justin McCarthy, the famous writer, who was Crosbie's intimate friend and colleague, once described him as "a brilliant and powerful prose-writer, with a wonderful gift of humour, who could at any time make offhand a speech which delighted and captivated his audience." Always an eager student of literature, he was thoroughly familiar with the great classical authors and the masterpieces of French, Italian, and German literature. On Maguire's death Thomas Crosbie purchased the *Cork Examiner* from his widow. If Maguire had been primarily a politician and man of affairs, Crosbie was primarily a journalist and did not take an active part in politics. The *Cork Examiner* under his management continued, however, to follow the broad general lines of the policy which Maguire had enunciated. In the troubled times which followed he held his paper on a middle course between the Scylla of extreme Nationalism and the Charybdis of Unionism. Thus whilst the *Examiner* supported Parnell during his constitutional fight for land reform and Home Rule, it ceased to do so after the majority of the Irish Party had renounced his leadership.

Crosbie's real interests, however, lay in the development of Irish agriculture and industry. On this subject he wrote many able and thoughtful articles. He was largely responsible for the establishment of the Baltimore Fishery School which has proved such a valuable training place for young Southern fishermen. In his own profession he was recognised as an important and distinguished figure, and in 1894 he was elected to its highest office as President of the Institute of Journalists. During his regime the *Cork Examiner* prospered in every way and was converted into a private company. Linotype machines and rotary presses were also installed; but it was characteristic of the man that, in spite of these labour-saving devices, no member of the staff was disemployed. The paper had long been a daily one; now an evening paper and a weekly edition were also published. Amongst other special features which he inaugurated was a special American news service for the benefit of American travellers in Ireland. He died on June 30 1899 full of years and honours amidst the grief of his fellow citizens whom he had so long and sincerely served. His newspaper had become and was to remain the leading newspaper in Munster and one of the best newspapers in Ireland. Its foundations were well and truly laid.

The modern development and extension of this great journal is in large part due to Thomas Crosbie's son, George, who succeeded him as Chairman. Like Maguire he qualified as a barrister, but never practised and had no real vocation for the law. In the early eighties he joined the staff of the *Examiner* and served his apprenticeship to journalism. On his father's death he was therefore well qualified to take over the important work which devolved upon him. His genial and kindly personality, his tolerance of contrary opinion, and his simplicity and humility of mind, combined as they were with a rare tenacity of purpose and principle, constituted a combination both unique and charming yet characteristic of his native city. These personal characteristics were reflected in his political views and in the policy of the *Examiner* under his management. An Irish Nationalist of uncompromising sincerity, he believed that Ireland was greater than political

forms or doctrinaire theories and that, in the last analysis, the welfare and prosperity of its people were what really mattered. He fully subscribed to Pope's famous couplet:

> "For forms of government let fools contest
> Whate'er is best administered is best."

For these reasons and because he disbelieved in violent and extreme courses, George Crosbie consistently advocated, both in his newspaper and elsewhere, a constitutional policy. This was exemplified by his strong support of the Irish Party under John Redmond, by his refusal to countenance William O'Brien's attempts to divide its ranks in a vain attempt to conciliate Irish Unionism, and by his adherence to the Treaty of 1921 and the subsequent Cosgrave administration. But although essentially a man of peace, he was prepared to suffer, and did in fact suffer, grievous injury in the defence of opinions he believed to be right. At one period he was actually forced to leave Cork owing to threats against his life and, though his newspaper office was wrecked and his home, containing a lifetime's collection of beautiful pictures, maliciously destroyed—an injury which few people would forgive or forget—he did not allow himself to become embittered, and returned to carry on his work without complaint or resentment. It was a fine example of Christian conduct at a time when the most elementary principles of Christianity were being openly and systematically violated in the name of patriotism. His kindly nature could not easily descend to the personal bitterness of Irish politics, and his easy going disposition was not suited to the requirements of party discipline. Nor were his political experiences happy. In 1909, at the request of John Redmond, he contested Cork city against the late Maurice Healy and was defeated. The owner of an honest newspaper in a provincial city is, for obvious reasons, seldom a good political candidate, and his undoubted personal popularity could not overcome this handicap. In 1924 he sought election to the Senate in the only direct election which took place to that body, but he was again defeated. In January 1932 he was, however, elected to the Senate as a nominee of the Cosgrave party. His contributions to its deliberations were

always kindly in tone and charitable in temper, reflecting his whimsical sense of humour and what perhaps may now be described as an old fashioned courtesy.

George Crosbie took a keen interest in the industrial development of the South, which he had inherited from his father, and this interest was reflected in the columns of his paper. To this object he devoted a considerable amount of time and money. He was for many years President of the Cork Industrial Development Association, which founded the Irish National Trade Mark and inaugurated many other valuable projects. Cork had naturally the principal place in his thoughts and schemes, and he was intimately connected with the negotiations which in 1918 led to the establishment of the Ford Factory at Cork. He was also instrumental in inducing Furness Withy to purchase and develop Rushbrooke Docks in Cork Harbour, a valuable adjunct to the port, since unfortunately closed down. In 1932 he was largely responsible for promoting the Irish Industrial and Agricultural Fair at Cork, a project which unfortunately was not very successful. He died universally mourned on November 26, 1934, and was succeeded as Chairman of the Company by his eldest son, another Thomas Crosbie. On the whole it may be said of George Crosbie—and he would wish for no better epitaph—that he was a typical Corkman, intensely proud of his city, sometimes perhaps inclined to exaggerate its importance, but always anxious to promote its prosperity. Above all he was a sincere and upright Irishman, who placed the interests of his country and its people first and who fully realised that those interests could never be really advanced by any policy which ignored the dictates of commonsense and sought inspiration in a barren hatred.

The lives of these three remarkable men—John Francis Maguire, Thomas Crosbie and George Crosbie—practically coincide with the hundred years of the *Cork Examiner's* existence; but other notable names in its history should be mentioned before this chronicle concludes. Amongst them was Justin McCarthy, whose career as a journalist began as a reporter on that paper in 1846 and who in that capacity

reported the speeches of O'Connell and the Young Ireland leaders as well as the terrible events of the Famine. One of his contemporaries was William O'Brien, afterwards a distinguished barrister and High Court Judge. Other members of the staff who became distinguished lawyers were Richard Adams, K.C., who became a County Court Judge, and George Lawrence, B.L. and George Daly, B.L., who were leaders for many years of the Cork Sessions Bar. Another name which cannot be forgotten is that of James Crosbie, who until his death a few years ago, brought to the support of his brother in the management of the paper a shrewd commonsense and a wide knowledge of affairs as well as an able pen. On the commercial side the *Examiner* has also had wise guidance, and its modern development is in large part due to the skilful management and wise advice of the late Denis McGrath, whose son has succeeded him. This is in keeping with the tradition of the *Examiner*, which has always followed the wise policy of employing the relatives of past employees, thus maintaining an unbroken record of loyalty and service.

Looking back over the hundred years of its history the proprietors and staff of the *Cork Examiner* have every reason to congratulate themselves. From a small tri-weekly evening paper, with a modest weekly payroll of £21 in 1841, it has now become a great daily newspaper with a national circulation and reputation. Wherever Corkmen are it may be found. Now, like all newspapers, it is faced with grave difficulties of supply and distribution, and it has had to curtail both its size and its circulation. But these difficulties will pass. In spite of them its proprietors are entitled to claim that their paper has maintained over a hundred years a high standard of journalism and a consistent policy directed solely to the interests of their country. In this their paper has not only rendered a great and valuable service to the community, but has ennobled the profession of Irish journalism. If it has not always pleased everybody, that is perhaps the best tribute which can be paid to its honesty and integrity.

JOHN J. HORGAN

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LX

ELEGY ON MÁG SHAMHRADHÁIN .i. TOMÁS

Giólla na naomh Ó hUiginn cc.

1. Rogha na dtuath Teallach nEachach
oirrdeirc a teirdh go Teach nDuinn ;
ir é an deaghfonn fona fíche
fogha fearann chíche Cuinn.

2. Innte a-tá an tiobra ar dtig Sionann
fhuil ar uairle i nInis Fáil ;
dá donnbuirt finnfhreadh na bréarchrann
indear longphort dtréanclann Táil.

3. Teallach nEachach ir é a comharc
Ceann Cruaiche, cairte na n-éacht,
cloch gar iarr gach duine deaghuair
ar fiadh Muighe fheadhuair Sléacht.

4. Siot Éadaoine ir innte tarla
Tulach Corghair na gcon nghairg,
fál noichtcleat bhraoichreann da fiandhruach
Gaoithdeann Choilceach fiadhluath ard.

5. [Don chath] gar thoit Conall Cearnach
corghar Oilealla an uair fuig
a ghoin fa thaoitréim don theitir ;
ag foin aoinchéim teichidh tuig.

6. Ní-a urdail féin d'fearann Éireann
ir é mag, mag ar mhó nór,
ir é gleann fona ar fearr óghda,
fogha gleann na fódla fór.

7. Airgidh gach oireacht fa timchell
Teallach nEachach fuilngear doirr ;
tre Mhag bhráil teagar dá togha
leagar dáibh fogha agus foinn.

8. Is fiu fíġ nó foġa taoiseaċ
Gaċ taoiseaċ aca—is í an mbreaṫ ;
fún a ċruiḋe an féile d'foġlaim
fine ar féiḋe aġ comhrainn ċreaċ.

9. Fiu taoiseaċ i ngaċ ċuaiṫ eile
gaċ óglaċ oiltear n-a tír ;
[gin gurḃ] eaḋ fós is fear faiḋḋir,
ar nós gaċ fear daiḋḋir ḋíḃ.

10. Bhian Breaġaċ fa bheaġḋa longphort
buḋ lór d'aoinfear d'ingin Duilḃ ;
ní fuair tóir dá dtarġaiḋ comha
aġ arġain lóiġ broġa Buiḋḃ.

11. Do bí fáiṫ gaċ airdrioġ d'oiġre
aige do mac—móide a gnaoi ;
mac is buaiḋ nġliaḋ ar a ġormġáiḃ
fuair Bhian do ċongḃáil a ċraoi.

12. Tomár mac Bhiain na mbreaṫ nóiseaċ
dreaġan Gaḃraiḋ gan ġráḋ réaḋ,
nír faoiseaḋ gan arm dá oiġiḋ
dá maoiḋeaḋ baḋḃ Oiliġ d'éag.

13. Teisd a diodḃaḋ ar baiḋḃ Cruaċan
—creidim féin guru fíor dáiḃ—
gé fuair bár ón éag n-a éanar,
nír fár céaḋ re ngéabaḋ gráin.

14. Nír ċruṫaiġ Criord do ċloinn Adaim
éanduine ar nar inmill fár ;
ní hé cleaṫ Annla n-a aonur
neaċ tarla i mbaoġal gan bár.

15. An foġlaiḋ so gon ġéiġ bfánad
fir Bhéirne is beag naċar maiḃ ;
duirran nar ḋoiṫ is éag d'aonġuin
do loiṫ céaḋ d'faoḃraiḃ gan arm.

16. An t-eineaċ, a oide múinte,
do maiḃ cuma ċraoiḃe Gréag ;
diaiḋ go bráṫ ar nduala an deiġfir
ar ċáċ cuma an eimiġ d'éag.

17. Tugaḋ cuiṗeaḋ go cat mḂṗéifne
ḋá ḃṗeit ṗuaṙ taṙ ṙluag na ḃṗian ;
ḃṗeit í Eiṗce ıṙ-teaċ ó tugaḋ
ḃṗeaċ aṙ ċeiṗte ṗugaḋ ṗiaṁ.

18. Ḋuı lé ıṙ gan anaḋ n-a héagṁaiṙ,
a aoṙ ḋáṅa, a-ḋeiṗim ṗiḃ,
an éigṗe ı gcoṁaiṙ a caiṫme
conaiṙ ṫéiḋṗe a haiṫle an ṗiṙ.

19. Nóṙ ṗaogulta, ṗáṗaḋ neaṁḋa,
ḋo-nī an t-eineaċ ḋ'onċoin liag ;
ḋuaṗa ṗann Ṫómáṙ aṙ talṁain
ṗólaṙ tall ḋá anmain ıaḋ.

20. Ḋ'ṗion ċoṙcṗa, ḋo ċeolaiḃ ḃinne,
tṗe ḃaiḋḃ ḋṪeaṁṗaċ tugaḋ ṗuaṫ ;
mó gṗáin ım gáiṗe ná ım ġola
gá ṁnáiḃ táiġe aṙ nḋola ī Ḋuaċ.

21. Roḃ ó Ḋuaċ Galaiġ géag Raiġleann
ṗoḃ ó Ruaiṗc naċ ṗoiċim ḋ'ṗioṙ ;
cuiḃṗeann ḋom ṗé ṗuġ ó ḊuaċRuaiṗc
maṙ ḋuġ mé luaṫċuaiṗt ṗa liaṙ.

22. Óṙ ċionn gaċ ḃaile ṗa Ḃṗéifne
ḋo ḃaiḋḃ Cliaḋ ḃuḋ ċumṫa leaċt ;
níṗ ṗuṗáil leam an tann toṙċaiṙ
ceall ṗa gaċ mḃall ḋ'onċoin ṗeaṙt.

23. An onóiṙṙe aṙ n-éag na ṙlaṫa
ṗaḋa ḃiaṙ gan a ḃuain ḋé ;
a-tá an lá ḋo-ċuaiḋ ó Cṗaoiḋe
uaim maṙ lá ṗaoiṙe go ṗé.

24. Maiṗiḋ fóṙ ṗuiġeall ḋá ḃeoḋaċt
aġ baiḋḃ Ḋéan ḋo ḋiongḃaḋ ċéaḋ ;
ní laṁ ḋaoi ṗe gṗáin a gáiṙgiḋ
taoḃ ī Ṫáil ḋ'aicṗin aṙ n-éag.

25. Ḋo-niaḋ aiṫóiṙ ḋ'áit gaċ leaḃṫa
aṙ loiġ ó Caiṙ na gcoiġ mḃṗeaċt ;
ṗa gaċ ḋteampall an tann teagaṙ
teanncaṙ ann leagaṙ ḋá leaċt.

26. I ngaċ críċ dar tairdil Tómár
talamh naomh do-ní don ċruaid,
acht fleaċta bróg Gríbe Gabra
gan fód fire i mBanba Bruain.

27. Már fíor nocon agann peactaċ
rian mór a-muig agus tall ;
dul a clí ar ndula d'ó Dáire
ir í cumha ar áille ann.

28. Cíor agus cáin ċeinéal mBréanainn
do bíod ċuige gaċ ré gcuairt ;
leoman Breag do thuaill na tire
fuaill nar bean fige d'íd Ruairc.

29. Fear fíogta ir aitríogta airdríog
ua Samradáin flior mar tuinn ;
mór créaċta feirge na flaṫa,
meirge féanta cata Cuinn.

30. Cé dearbaid cáċ éag re haḋart
d'onċoin Raigleann fuig gaċ buaid,
ní fuair rinn cár mar ó gCréide,
bár do rinn na féile fuair.

31. Oillamain agus aor dána
fa breagan gCruaċna an ċnir gil
do bí ag triall a curp d'ú Caṫail
luċt gliad nó taċair n-a tig ;
már tá géag Eine n-a aonur
créad eile an faogul acht rin ?

32. Téid mar do-ċuaid ir na craoḃaiḃ
cumha í Dloid i mbarraiḃ diar
go lá an bráit gan tuba im Tómár
cumha cáiċ ar brónfár biar.

33. Mág Samradáin mac Bruain Breagaig
an Bréirne ó bár bun ór ċionn ;
ní fuair rgol ag teaċta trite
acht leabta brog brite bríonn.

34. Dud oilitriġ ar éir Tómáir
a teaġlaċ aġ triall don Róim ;
dá díot fuġaid cnoc ġaċ cnoire,
tuġaid cor coire don cóir.

35. Faoiċoin ar faitċeadaib teampal,
tuile feoir aġ falaċ fód,
ar aiġtiġ [realt] do ár ainneam,
feadb ó bár ġaċ ainnear óġ. Roġa

36. Roġa na nAod Aod Ó Domnaill
aġ díot ċnioct fa cródha a láim ;
ó ġleo arm ní deaċaid Danar
nir feaċain badb Aġar áġ. R.

37. Aonġus mac Aonġuis Ua Domnaill
do dligfinn éaġ ar n-éaġ dó ;
mo lá brátha a beit fan aonúir
ġo ġcleit Ráta craobúir Cró. Roġa

38. Tomaltaċ na dtaċar meimic
Mac Diarmuda doirrda an mac ;
do fáirġ ar a bun frar fola
a bar aġ cur faġa i n-at. Roġa

39. Roġa ar litreaċ leatainm Muire
mátair Ċriord fan ċuinġ ar mó ;
leat a hanma ó ġairm na ġlóire
tarla d'ainm na hóiġe ar ó. Roġa

40. Ní bean rus faġa na dtoirrċear,
ní toirċear fir flait na fód ;
ar ġein uaibre ar ċum [ġaċ] cláirneam
uairle ó bunn báinġeal a bróġ.

Roġa

Translation

1. Choicest of lands is Teallach nEachach, splendid its fame as far as Teach Duinn ; this goodly prosperous fairy field is the choice land in all Conn's Territory.
2. In it is the well whence comes the Sionann, noblest stream in Inis Fáil ; from its bright land comes that fair stream with its grass-green trees and the estuary where are the places of Tál's strong folk.
3. What distinguishes Teallach nEachach is Ceann Cruaiche, the rock of horrors, the stone at which each passer-by prays for safe speeding, and which stands on the land of cold-streamed Magh Sléacht.

4. Sioth Éadaoine and Tulach Cosgair of savage hounds are in it; a hedge of drawn sharp-pointed spears is on its border and also wind-swept lofty Beann Coilceach—lively with game.
5. When Conall Cearnach had conquered Oilill, his wounding by the troops that slew him was (result of) a rash onslaught made by that bear; 'twas the only time he had to retreat.
6. 'Tis a plain, the most glorious plain of its own size in the land of Éire; happy glen of finest young cattle, it is Fódla' choice vale.
7. Folk about much-suffering Teallach nEachach are ever attacking it; from all Fál's Plain people come seeking it, they think to choose and divide its land.
8. Each of its chiefs is, I hold, equal to any king or choice captain; his heart's desire is to practise hospitality; they are a race lavish in sharing *creachs*.
9. A young warrior reared in its land is a match for a captain in any other; any poor man of them, though he be not yet rich, is to be held rich in glory.
10. Strong-castled Brian Breaghach were fit husband for Dolbh's daughter; he never found any troop plundering the wealth of Bodhbh's Castle and offered it terms!
11. For son he had an heir worthy of any high-king—this increased his glory; to hold his land Brian had a son on whose blue spears victory ever rested.
12. Just-judging Tómás, Brian's son, Dragon of Gabhradh, hero not over-fond of treasure, Raven of Oileach—only a death by sword would have been thought of, had one thought of his death!
13. His foes' testimony to this Raven of Cruacha was true, I know; though he died by himself, there was no hundred of men of whom he would have felt fear.
14. Christ never created any man of Adam's race without setting some snare for him; Annla's Pillar was not the only man to be in danger and survive it.
15. The foe who struck this Branch of Fána killed with that blow almost all Bréifne's heroes; 'twas sad for those who fell not with thee in that death of thine which slew a hundred without a sword-blow!
16. Grief for this Branch of the Greeks has slain his teacher, Hospitality; after the good warrior's death all men will grieve for Hospitality's death.
17. When it was decreed that Earc's scion (Tomás) should be brought to Heaven—the justest thing ever decreed!—a message was sent to Breifne's host to take him (from them).
18. O poet-folk, I call on you to accompany—and not to tarry behind—Poetry now doomed to ruin, and to follow the path she takes now that the hero is gone.
19. For Liag's Wolf generosity was glory in this world, happiness in Heaven; the gifts Tómás gave on earth for poems will now comfort his soul in Heaven.
20. Purple wine and sweet songs are now distasteful owing to the death of Teamhair's Raven; when Duach's scion had gone, his wailing-women disliked laughter more than tears.
21. Raighle's Branch, whom I can visit no longer, was scion of Duach Galach and of Ruarc; this scion of Duach and Ruarc has robbed me of much of my life by letting me spend a short time in his castle.
22. Over every *baile* in Bréifne a monument should be raised to Cliu's Raven; when the Wolf of Fearta died, I wanted to see a church in every place.
23. Long after the prince's death this unceasing commemoration of him will go on; the death-day of Craoidhe's scion I have ever since wished to keep as a holy day.
24. This Raven of Dean, protector of hundreds—some of his living power lives on; in dread of his prowess the beetle looks not at the dead body of Tál's scion.
25. Folk treat as an altar every spot where the magic-sworded scion of Conn took his rest; when they enter a church a crushing weight is laid on them by (the sight of) his tomb.
26. The soil of every land where Tómás marched has become a holy land; no sod in all Brian's Banbha seems a rightful one if not marked by the shoe of the Griffin of Gabhair.
27. No sinner, 'tis said, suffers great punishment in this world and the next; to depart from one's earthly body now that Dáire's scion is gone is the best grief we could show for him.
28. At all times he had the cess and rent of Bréanainn's race; the laying of the Lion of Breagha in the earth-grave has almost deprived Ruarc's race of their realm.
29. Samhradhán's scion, foam-white of body, is the man who made and unmade high-kings; dread were the wounds the prince's anger inflicted and the blessed banners of Conn's host.
30. Though men have to tell that this triumphant Wolf of Raoile, this scion of Conn, died on his pillow, we never knew calamity till his death; 'twas the sharp point of his own generosity which slew him.

31. His *ollamhs* and poets, his men of war and battle, were around this white-skinned Dragon of Cruachain, this scion of Cathal, as he was departing from his earthly body ; that this Branch of Eine is now alone (in grave)—is not this the way of the world ?

32. Grief for Blod's scion has come upon the ears of corn as on the branches of trees ; the grief of all for Tómás will be ever growing, never failing, till Doomsday.

33. Mág Samhradháin, son of Brian Breaghach—by his death is Bréifne turned topsy-turvy ; when passing through it (of old) poets ever enjoyed couches of bright woven straw.

34. Now that Tómás is gone, his household will go as pilgrims to Rome ; for lack of his protection every church is robbed of its goods, and justice is trampled on.

35. Hawks are on church-lands ; grass flows over and covers roads ; the desert has crept over the face of all lands ; maids feel as widows at his death.

36. Best of all Aodhs was Aodh Ó Domhnaill ; bloody was his hand slaying knights ; from his weapons' onset no Danar escaped ; Adhar's Raven shirked no fight.

37. Aonghus son of Aonghus O Domhnaill—I should have died when he died ; his burial with the Pillar of fresh-branched Rath Cró is a very Doomsday for me.

38. Ever-battling Tomultach Mac Diarmuda, a fierce warrior—his hand driving a javelin into (his foe's) helmet forces from beneath it a jet of blood.

39. The choicest of our (ornamental) letters is one half (*i.e.* Mór) of the name (*i.e.* Muire Mór) given to Mary, God's mother, owing to her great duty ; this half of the Virgin's name is, owing to its proclaiming of glory, formed from the Virgin's name spelt with O.

40. No mere wife bore the greatest of all sons, no son of mere man was the Prince of Paths ; thy progeny (O Mary) who made all (?) Heaven's land was all noble up from His shoes' white sole.

NOTES

1*c*. ꝺeaꝺonꝺ. 2*a*. ar ꝺiġ ; *cf.* xi 27. *c*. ꝺa ġonꝺṗuṁc ꝼinꝺṁeaꝺ na ꝼeaꝺiḋṁ. *d*. cṁ. 4*c*. ꝼṁ. *d*. iaꝺl. 5. verse out of place ? *a*. ꝺimcaċ (?) 6*b*. mo 7*a*. caċ *b*. ꝺoṁṁ. *c*. maġ ḃaiꝉ *d*. ꝺaiḃ 8*b*. cach *c*. cṁ. *d*. a co. 9*c*. cen ġobaꝺ eꝺ ꝼor *d*. caċ ; ꝺiḃ. 10*c*. ꝺa ꝺaṁ. *d*. ac ġaṁġ. loiġ 11*a*. caċ *c*. buaiġ. 12*b*. ꝼec *d*. maiġeꝺ ; ꝺeġ 13*d*. cec ; nġe. a ġṁ. 15*a*. ṁa ; ġeiġ ḃanaċ *c*. -ꝼann naċ toic *d*. ꝺaeḃꝺaiꝺ 16*b*. ciḃi (n over c). *c*. nꝺul 17*ac*. tucaꝺ 18*d*. ꝺeitṁ 19*d*. ċall 20*a*. ꝺin co. ꝺa ċe. *b*. ꝺe. ; ċucaꝺ *c*. in ġ. no in ġ. *d*. nola 21*a*. ġalaiꝺ ; *leg.* Raoiḋeann ? *d*. ꝼa. 22*a*. cinꝺ ; ba. *b*. ḃuꝺ ċu. *c*. iꝺann *d*. caċ 23*a*. innonoiṁṁea *d*. uam ; ġuꝼe 24*b*. ġean 25*a*. -ṗċa *b*. ccaiṁ *c*. ꝺeam. ; iꝺann *d*. ꝺeanc. 26*c*. *leg.* nġṁ. ? *d*. *leg.* ḃṗíꝼe ? 27*b*. maṁ ; ꝺall *c*. nula 28*b*. ġuaiṁꝺ *c*. -ṁain ; ꝺa. 29*b*. -ġan 30*b*. *leg.* Raoiḋeann ? *c*. ġneiꝺi 31*a*. ollꝺaṁain *b*. ġnuaċna *d*. haꝺċaiṁ ; *leg.* ċaċaiṁ ? 32*a*. ꝺo ; ar na *c*. ġu la in ḃṁaċ cen ꝺ. *d*. ḃꝺonaṁ 33*a*. hamṁaġain *b*. ḃunꝼcinꝺ *d*. -ṗċa ; ḃiċi ꝼ. 34*a*. -ċṁiġ ; ꝺom. *b*. ꝺo ṁ. *c*. caċ *d*. ꝺucaꝺ 35*a*. ꝼaiċeꝺaiḃ *c*. ꝺealḃ ; ꝺa ar ainꝺeaꝺ 37*d*. co cꝺ. 38*c*. aiṁc ; ḃun ; ꝼṁaiṁ *d*. a cuṁ ; annaċ 39*b*. cuinġ ; mo 40*b*. ꝼlaċ *c*. cum ġo cꝺ.

At end of this poem there are two stanzas separate from the poem and mostly illegible.

A FORGOTTEN IRISH ANTIQUARY

Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman 1732-1809

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

IT has been said, with a mild suggestion of malicious humour, that the three grand resources of the expatriated Irish Jacobites in the eighteenth century were war, the wine trade and pedigree writing. That they did engage and acquire distinction abroad in other spheres of activity does not alter the fact that many of them pursued there the avocations mentioned. One at least of their number, the Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman, engaged in all three occupations and, though now almost forgotten, was a somewhat remarkable figure in the France and Ireland of his day. Beginning his career as a soldier of the Irish Brigade in France, he forsook military life for genealogical research and for the wine trade till forced by circumstances to abandon the latter. He finally became interested altogether in Irish family histories—with their long pedigrees, as the cynical Froude somewhere remarks, extending back to infinity.

A native speaker of Irish, an impressive figure (he was 6 feet 5 inches tall) with strikingly handsome features, he came of an old Clare stock that was allied by kinship with many of the old Gaelic and Norman families of Thomond like the O'Briens and De Lacys. The ancestral lands of the MacGormans—the Chevalier was the first of the family to substitute O for Mac in the surname—occupied the territory of Drumelihy and Cahermurphy in the barony of Burren in western Clare. Among his many manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy there is one which gives in his own hand particulars of his parentage :—

Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman, Captain of Infantry in His Most Christian Majesty's service, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis. Born at Castletown, Co. Clare, 16 September 1732. Father was Matthew O'Gorman or MacGorman, who died June 1740

age 35, and who had married in 1731 Margaret, daughter of Donogh O'Loughlin of Castletown in the Barony of Burren Esq. and of Coelia, daughter of Donogh O'Brien of Newtown in said Barony.[1]

The family and clan pride, which was the origin of so much of the internecine warfare in Ireland's history and prevented again and again the nation's unity against a common enemy, is seen reflected in the verses accompanying the details of the Chevalier's ancestry. They are grandiloquently entitled "The Armorial Annunciation of the Princely House of O'Gorman from Maolan og Mac Brodin (poet) in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," and have for their opening quatrain :—

Tosach catha agus deireadh áir
Dlightear dhoibhse, a chlainn Ghormáin :
Mór fuaim toramh bhúr neach,
Libh gach oirbhart is oineach.

Accompanying the verses is a translation signed 'T. O'F'—presumably Theophilus O'Flanagan, an Irish scholar of the eighteenth century, whose English version is even more bombastic than the original :—

The battle's front, the rear from havoc's field
To you, O'Gorman's Race, the world doth yield :
Loud thund'ring sounds the prancing of your steeds,
You stand unrivalled in all glorious deeds.

After the Jacobite collapse in Ireland in 1691, Matthew O'Gorman of Dromelihy, Co. Clare, was convicted of high treason with consequent confiscation of his property. A generation later his grandson Thomas, the future Chevalier,

[1] MS.R.I.A. (23.F.14). The same MS. has some details of interest regarding the connection of the O'Gormans with some notable Irish families of the 18th century. In it the Chevalier writes that his grandfather was Thomas O'Gorman of Cahir Morroghoe, late of Inchiquin in the Co of Clare, who married Alicia, daughter of Lieut-Colonel Terence O'Dempsey (of Clanmalier, Queen's County) and of Joan MacGeoghegan. Joan MacGeoghegan was a granddaughter of the 2nd Viscount Clare (Conor O'Brien). Regarding the family of his grandmother the Chevalier writes : "Lieut-Col. Terence O'Dempsey was the 2nd son of Lord Viscount Clanmalier, and his wife Joan was 2nd daughter of Conly MacGeoghegan of Dronore in the Co. Westmeath Esq. by Margaret, eldest daughter of Conor O'Brien, 2nd Viscount Clare and widow of Hugh MacPhilip O'Reilly, chief of his name and Lord of Cavan. Said Joan was sister of Colonel John O'Brien of Inchiquin . . ."

The will of the above-mentioned Honor MacGeoghegan, dated 20 Nov. 1735, is given in full in the MS. She leaves two hundred and fifty pounds to Thomas O'Gorman of Inchiquin, and to the Right Hon. William O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin she bequeaths "1 plate salver, 3 large plate castors, half a dozen plate spoons, half a dozen plate-hafted knives and half a dozen plate forks."

was through the good offices of Lord Viscount Clare, commander of Clare's regiment of the Irish Brigade, entered as a student in the Irish College at Paris, and from there attended the lectures of the medical school of the university in that city. In due time he qualified as a physician. While a student he made the acquaintance of an heiress, daughter of the Count D'Eon, a wealthy French nobleman residing at Tonnerre in Burgundy. In 1757 the youthful pair eloped and married, upon which the exasperated parents of the young lady, believing O'Gorman to be a needy adventurer, proceeded to disinherit her. This they carried out, as many believe, by passing off as a son a younger daughter, whom in due course they placed in the French military service and for whom, rather than for the runaway heiress, they thus hoped to preserve the title and inheritance of their house. Under the name of the Chevalier D'Eon this younger daughter became in later years one of the most celebrated figures of eighteenth-century France. Alternately French ambassador at St. Petersburg and London, she displayed not a little diplomatic ability and, though generally regarded as of the male sex, she always dressed in female attire.[2]

Soon after his marriage O'Gorman entered Walsh's regiment of the Irish Brigade,[3] and a reconciliation took place later between him and his wife's parents. The title of Chevalier was, through their influence, conferred on him by Louis XV, and on Count D'Eon's death he became proprietor of the family estate in Burgundy. Already too he was beginning to

[2] Although an autopsy after death is supposed to have proved the Chevalier D'Eon to be of the male sex, the matter is shrouded in some mystery. I have seen many of the Chevalier O'Gorman's private letters, and in them he always refers to the Chevalier D'Eon as "Mademoiselle" or "my sister-in-law" or "La Chevalière." There is a reference to the matter by the Rev. James Kenny LL.D., Archdeacon of Kilfenora, in Mason's *Parochial Survey of Ireland* (Vol. I. page 502). The Archdeacon, an intimate friend of O'Gorman, writes as follows:—"Chevalier O'Gorman died in this county about two years ago in indigent circumstances. He was married to the sister of the famous woman, long known by the name of the Chevalier d'Eon. The writer knew O'Gorman very well, and he averred to him in the most solemn manner that he did not know the imposition until it was found out in London, and that the utmost secrecy was observed in the transaction, and not committed to O'Gorman even by his wife. He said that it was carried on for the purpose of entitling the Chevalier d'Eon to an estate, bequeathed to the male heir of d'Eon, her father, and that she had the benefit of the bequest until the discovery was made."

[3] Regarding O'Gorman's military career, of which little is known, it may be of interest to mention that he was one of the two hundred Irish officers in the French army who in 1779 offered their services to the United States in the war against England.

enjoy the privileges of the highest of the French nobility in access to the select coteries at Versailles, where he was on intimate terms with Louis XV. Outside the court he moved as well in a brilliant society circle at Paris. In that city he kept a costly establishment, which was largely supported by a lucrative trade with Ireland, the wine produced on his estate having a high repute there. In connection with this he was accustomed to make periodical visits to his native country, where the Earl of Inchiquin and other noblemen were among its customers. Always interested in Irish antiquarian lore, O'Gorman devoted part of his time during these visits to journeying through the counties of Clare, Limerick and Tipperary collecting manuscripts and copying inscriptions and crests from the tombstones of old families.[4] While in Dublin in 1772 he was present there at a meeting of a body called the Committee of Antiquaries, which had just been formed by some members of the Dublin Society. Its stated object was "to inquire into the antient state of arts and literature and into the other antiquities of Ireland," and to examine "all the Tracts on those subjects of which the Committee can obtain the perusal." When O'Gorman informed the Committee that he had lately examined at Paris the *Leabhar Leacan* in the Irish College, he was requested to apply to that institution for permission to make a copy of it. This was readily granted in a reply, signed among others by Arthur Dillon the celebrated archbishop of Narbonne, which stated that an invitation had been issued to all the Irish gentlemen residing at Paris to form a committtee like that in Dublin and for similar objects. After a short while, however, both bodies ceased to exist without having accomplished anything of interest or value, but in 1787 the original Book of Lecan, through the initiative of O'Gorman, was presented to the Royal Irish Academy, in whose possession it has since remained.[5]

* * * *

His labours in the field of Irish genealogy and in connection

[4] On one of these visits the Chevalier is said to have taken back with him to France a considerable collection of Irish manuscripts and books belonging to Andrew and Hugh MacCurtin, the notable Clare poets and genealogists.

[5] In 1785 O'Gorman presented the *Book of Ballymote* to the R.I.Academy.

with the collecting and copying of Irish manuscripts entitle O'Gorman to something more than the obloquy and oblivion which have largely been his share. There is no doubt that he did much useful work in these spheres, though he was called " a heraldic quack " by Crofton Croker and, not perhaps without a little justification, " a pedigree-monger " by others. Irishmen in France and Spain in the eighteenth century, especially when serving in the army (where they predominated), often found it desirable to possess the genealogies of their families. These were helpful, at times essential, in obtaining preferment in their profession as soldiers, in securing titles of honour and in gaining admission to the court, while often too they were deemed necessary for Irish marriage alliances with the French or Spanish nobility. Thus in 1782 we find Henry MacNamara, a distinguished naval officer in the service of France, employing O'Gorman to compile the pedigree of his family which he required to accompany his memorial for the title of Count. Four years later he also compiled a history of the house of O'Reilly (*Genealogia Antiquissimae et Illustrissimae O'Reilliorum Familiae*) for Alexander Count O'Reilly (1722–1794), the great Irishman who was generalissimo of the Spanish army and had a European repute as a soldier. The Count required it on the eve of the marriage of his eldest son with the Countess Buenavista, and paid 1,000 guineas to O'Gorman for his labour. The work in Latin and on vellum, after being completed in Dublin by O'Gorman, was sent to the Count through his kinsman Dowell O'Reilly of Heath House in Leix. The Latin original was duly placed in the Spanish archives, the Count retained a translated version in his private library, and a copy was deposited in the Office of Arms at Dublin Castle.[6]

His repute as a genealogist had brought O'Gorman early into prominence in a rather bitter quarrel between two expatriated families of the O'Brien house living in France. On the death of the Earl of Thomond in Ireland in 1741, the title was assumed in France by Charles O'Brien, 6th Viscount

[6] There is a copy, too, among the O'Gorman papers in the R.I.A. (MSS. 24.D.7.). It comprises 136 pages and is entitled " The Genealogy and Spreading Branches of the House of O'Reilly."

Clare, a brilliant soldier of the Irish Brigade. Daniel, another member of the O'Brien family who was Jacobite ambassador at the French court, had been created Earl of Lismore by James III ("the Old Pretender") for his services to the Stuart cause. On the death of the Earl in 1759 his son assumed the title and, in addition, claimed that of Earl of Thomond by reason of his family's pretended descent from the Carrigogunell branch of the family. Lord Clare angrily denied the Earl of Lismore's pretensions, and a long disputation arose between the rival claimants. While the feud was proceeding, Lord Clare died, and his widow espoused the cause of her son who was a minor. The services of O'Gorman were requisitioned by her, and he was deputed to proceed to Ireland to collect genealogical evidence. At the same time the Lismore party obtained the help of an Irish priest in France named Kennedy, who too was despatched to Ireland on a similar mission. Immediately after Lord Clare's death, O'Gorman had written a letter on behalf of his widow to Sir Edward O'Brien of Dromoland, which reveals the bitterness engendered on both sides :—

The Countess of Breteuil, sister of Marshal Thomond (Lord Clare), prays me to acquaint you of the death of her brother. The Marshal a few days before his death did me the honour to communicate to me your letter of June last relative to the old manuscript of the widow of Brien O'Brien in Ennis, wherein you mentioned it was not at all equal to the picture I had given of it to his Lordship—that it was an old, tattered, dirty paper without beginning or end . . . Amongst a great number of frivolous certificates that the little priest Kennedy brought with him from Ireland, there are many that make mention of an old manuscript of Hugh MacCurtin containing a complete genealogy of the O'Brien family, with all its spreading branches, and affirming that at page 58 of said manuscript the pedigree of the pretended branch of Lismore is in entire conformity with one printed in France. . . . If so, MacCurtin made this addition during his stay in Paris in 1735 at the instigation of the late Lord Lismore . . . There is another thing which you should be apprised of. The Lismores have inserted in their new memorial that you absolutely refused to receive or see the little priest Kennedy . . . I request you'll be kind enough to cancel my name and never make the least mention of the author

of this letter, for the inveterate malice of these people would pursue me to my grave.

Despite the sentiments expressed by O'Gorman in this letter, he seems to have been bought over by the Lismore party after his return from his genealogical mission to Ireland. In October 1767 a Paris *avocat*, engaged by Lady Clare, complains that, though O'Gorman has now been weeks back in Paris from his Irish mission, he has never called on her ladyship to acquaint her of the result of his researches. The outcome of the long dispute was that her son, the young Lord Clare, was confirmed in the title of Earl of Ormond, which however became extinct on his death at Paris in 1774.

Some years later the scion in France of another notable Irish house employed O'Gorman to compile the family genealogy. Despite the brilliant military record of General Daniel O'Connell, he had found it impossible in his earlier career to obtain the promotion and honours to which his fine talent entitled him and which were later to be his share. This was due to the fact that he had not yet obtained admission to the all-powerful court circle, a privilege which required the furnishing of proofs of nobility sufficient to satisfy the Herald's Colleges. To meet the latter's requirements a pedigree was necessary showing the candidate's family to have ranked among his country's nobility for 300 years. In May 1780 O'Connell, whose resources were limited, introduced the question of the desired genealogy in a letter to his wealthy brother Maurice at Derrynane: "There's a matter of the greatest consequence to promoting my fortune and expectations. I mean that of my genealogy. That is a point so much looked to in this country that without it a man, whatever his merit or capacity, will scarce ever rank among the great. It's indispensably necessary to be present at court to roll with the nobility; and to be admitted to that honour a genealogy must be produced." The aid of an expert being necessary to prepare a family tree, the services of O'Gorman were sought, and some while later O'Connell again wrote from Paris to his brother in Kerry: "Mr. O'Gorman is some days set out from here. This gentleman is a perfect master of all

matters relating to Irish pedigrees. He has made out all those of the Irishmen who, within some years past, have been admitted and passed as authentic in the Herald's office. He demands for the expense and trouble the sum of £300 stg." At the same time a letter arrived at Derrynane from O'Gorman himself in support of the proposal, pointing out the immense advantages that the pedigree would mean for General O'Connell and stating that the latter found it impossible to meet the necessary cost. The hard-fisted Maurice could not, however, be got to see the need or importance of his brother's being permitted to ride in the King's coaches or to gamble at the royal tables at Versailles, and it was left to the Chevalier Fagan, an Irish soldier-friend of the General in the French army, to furnish the three hundred pounds.[7] O'Gorman accordingly compiled a pedigree which, though containing not a few spurious details, eventually satisfied the Herald's office and admitted O'Connell "aux honneurs du Louvre."

* * * *

The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, with its wide repercussions, had a very adverse effect on the fortunes of the Chevalier O'Gorman. The emigration from France of a large number of Irish officers, loyal to the Monarchy, and the chaos in that country following the upheaval left no place for his genealogical work. A strong royalist, he lost his estate, too, in Burgundy through confiscation, and with the advent of the Reign of Terror in 1793 he left France and returned to Ireland penniless. Settling in Dublin, he underwent many vicissitudes. After some time he seems to have been heavily in debt, and importunate creditors worried him from many sides. "I am here four days," he writes from the Irish capital to the Abbé Kearney, superior of the Irish College at Paris, "barricaded in my apartment to protect my liberty against a group of bailiffs who are day and night on the lurch to seize my person and lug me off to the Marshal-

[7] The sums charged by O'Gorman for compiling the genealogies of Irish families in France varied. It has been stated above that the fee received for the O'Reilly genealogy was 1,000 guineas. A similar amount was received by him for that of the MacCarthy family of Toulouse. The Butler family of Rochelle paid him 800 guineas, and the O'Neil, Roche, O'Kearney and MacMahon families 400 guineas each.

sea." To add to his worries, it was reported to the authorities at Dublin Castle that he was " in traitorous correspondence " with the French—it was in the troubled days before the Insurrection of 1798; and the Castle was further informed that his son commanded one of the ships which had come to Bantry Bay with the French expedition in 1796.[8] Some letters of his in the Irish State Paper Office to Pelham the Chief Secretary show the miserable condition to which he was reduced. In January 1797 he writes to that official from Matthew's Spunging House, Angel Court, High Street, as follows :—

> I do myself the honour of writing to you on my melancholy situation, which has resulted from the Warrant you signed to have me apprehended as a traitor.
>
> Foul, unguarded and malicious as the information was on which you thought proper to proceed, it had in a great degree answered the purpose of the party who gave it.
>
> The Peace officers who executed your Warrant broke into the parlour window of my little habitation and thereby made the matter so public and so apparently against me, that my creditors took the alarm, and though their demands do not amount to more than about £30, yet they are sufficient to deprive me of my liberty for life. I am penniless and I may say friendless in my old age, having lived many years in France, where I lost my estate by the Revolution. I have three sons fighting for his Majesty King George, the eldest of whom, Count O'Gorman, has distinguished himself at the head of 800 men that he commands at St. Domingo against the French, and I am now in a prison without one sixpence to subsist on . . .

Pelham in reply sent him £10 and an order for release. Other pitiful letters to various public men, seeking financial assistance, became a feature of his correspondence as time went by. In 1806 he wrote to one of his sons serving in the West Indies that he is in the utmost distress and " naked for want of clothes." Another letter to Lady O'Brien of Dromoland refers to the vicissitudes of fortune and the calamities he sustained in common with all the French nobility

[8] O'Gorman's three sons had been in the French military and marine forces till the Revolution when, as royalists, they left France and entered the English army. His wife, from whom he was estranged for many years before her death, died in 1788, and a few years later he married in Dublin the widow of Denny Baker Cuffe of Cuffesboro' in Queen's County.

through the Revolution, " which has reduced me in my old age to the very humiliating situation of depending for my earthly existence on the sole bounty of friends and relations."[9] And so dark shadows clouded more and more the evening of his life. He finally retired to his native county and settled near the place of his childhood at Drumelihy. His days were spent wandering about the ancient inheritance of his ancestors, no longer his, poring over his manuscripts and dreaming of the days when, an intimate of kings, he played in court and salon no small part in Europe's most brilliant capital. He died on the 18 November 1809. Some time before the end came he expressed a wish to be buried with his own people in the little graveyard of Cood where, a few years previously, he had his name engraved on the mausoleum of his family. His wish was not realised. A heavy snowfall, accompanied by a severe frost, occurred at the period of his death and prevented his remains being conveyed the long distance to Cood. He was accordingly laid to rest in the churchyard of Kilmacduane, close to where he died. The following obituary notice, somewhat characteristic of the age in its quaintness, appeared in a contemporary journal immediately after his death :—

The celebrated character, the Chevalier O'Gorman, retired from the transitory scene on Saturday last at Dromelihy in the west of the Co Clare at an advanced age. He was one of the individuals who seemed to have been born to exhibit in his period of existence the strange fluctuation of human events and the wonderful instability of the affairs of man. He left the land of his forefathers at an early age for France where, having connected himself with a distinguished, noble family, he was introduced into the first circle of elevated life. The magnificence of his establishment in the city of Paris and the splendour of his equipages are strong in the recollection of many persons this day living, and it is notorious that no man possessed more influence than he did at the Court of Versailles. Though he died in an obscure spot on the margin of the Atlantic Ocean, his memory will extend far beyond it and be held in affectionate remembrance by all those who knew him.

RICHARD HAYES

[9] For these letters I am indebted to Mr. G. McN. Ross of Marina, Cork, who kindly lent me the large collection of the papers and documents of the Chevalier O'Gorman in his possession.

THE BICENTENARY OF EDMOND MALONE 1741—1812

BY PROFESSOR J. J. HOGAN, M.A., B.LITT.

Two hundred years ago, on the fourth of October 1741 to be precise, the greatest of all Shakespearean scholars was born in Dublin; Professor Nichol Smith of Oxford, a Scotsman and a historian of Shakespeare scholarship, allows Malone this high title. The Malones were one of the fairly numerous native families who, having changed their religion in the later seventeenth century, were able to prosper through legal ability in the eighteenth. The critic's grandfather founded the family and purchased Baronston House in his native Westmeath in King William's day. His eldest son, Anthony, was a first-rate lawyer and so good a parliamentarian that at one time it was proposed to transfer him to Westminster to cope with Sir Robert Walpole; Grattan put him with Lord Mansfield and the elder Pitt among the three ablest men he had heard, and Hamilton compared him to "a great sea in a calm." The critic's father also followed the law, married an Englishwoman, and became a judge. His eldest son, the critic's brother, was to reach the peerage as Lord Sunderlin.

Edmond Malone was sent early to Ford's school in Molesworth Street, where, following the Dublin tradition of Swift and two generations of Sheridans, there was an insistence on the study of English and on the drama as an educational medium. Young Malone saw his elder brother as Portia in *Julius Caesar* in 1749, and later on played Shakespearean parts himself, probably with Macklin as producer. He duly passed through T.C.D. and went to London for his law studies, which could not then be completed at home. Thus it was that, before he was twenty-five, he had been "led by attachment to Shakespeare and the natural desire of an intelligent mind to form the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson."

Called to the Irish Bar in 1767, Malone went the Munster Circuit for four or five years. He dabbled in Irish politics—on the patriot side as became his youth—and seems to have contributed squibs to *Baratariana.* Later on he went conservative upon Irish matters, but never lost his patriot friends. A lifelong friendship with Lord Charlemont had begun, but it seems that even in these early days they talked less of politics than of books. For the patriot peer was a good Elizabethan scholar and an ardent collector, so that few ships crossed the Irish Sea that did not bring some rarity to his beautiful villa at Marino.

Malone's father died in 1774 leaving him a moderate independence. He tried for the University seat in Parliament and failed. This, and perhaps an unhappy love affair, turned him from the active and political life to literature; nor would he ever change his mind, though fine offers were made to him in Grattan's heyday and at other junctures. His first literary task was an Irish one and he did it at home; an edition of the works of Goldsmith, lately dead. He then moved to London for the task that was to occupy his life. Malone dedicated himself quietly and completely to Shakespeare, as Gibbon to the Roman Empire. It was the right time for that sort of thing. Methods and materials had developed enough to enable the scholar to occupy a lifetime upon a large subject, but they had not grown so as to overwhelm him; and there was a literary society in which one could recreate oneself and remain humane.

We must for the moment place ourselves in a time when, though Shakespeare was the great national poet and had lately been so declared in Johnson's magisterial edition, he presented quite a different aspect from the Shakespeare we see today. There was as yet no notion of a Hamlet problem or of any special subtlety in the character. The plays were not classified into groups, so that there was no idea of, say, Shakespearean Tragedy, as Bradley was one day to present it. Nor was the unity and special nature of the last plays—not yet even known as such—perceived; so that Dowden's simple formula of tragic experience followed by serenity—"in the depths, on the heights"—was yet very far off. Not without some foresight of the result, which was no less than to make possible an aesthetic biography of Shakespeare, a connected account of his mind and art in their development, Malone set himself first to a great untouched problem, and in 1778 published his *Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays of Shakespeare were written.* He employed, for the first time, the now familiar Stationers' Register and Henslowe Papers, and examined everything that might be a datable allusion; and he used, also for the first time, some of the metrical tests (rhyme and run-on lines). The result, as it appeared in 1778 and even in 1790, does not at a first glance seem worth much. Malone knew better than anyone else, but he put *Midsummer Night's Dream* three years before *Two Gentlemen*, placed *Hamlet* in 1596 and before *John*, *Winter's Tale* in 1604, *Julius Caesar* in 1607, eleven years after *Hamlet*, *Othello* in 1611, and *Twelfth Night* in 1614 and last of the plays. But he was working on the right lines, and in his latest edition he has corrected almost every error and arrived practically at the datings now accepted. It was a misfortune that this edition did not come out until 1821, so that Coleridge's Shakespeare criticism was done without it. Fittingly, it remained

for Dowden, another Irish Shakespearean, to gather this fruit of Malone's labours.

In 1780 Malone printed the poems and doubtful plays of Shakespeare, hitherto omitted by the editors. Then, having turned aside a moment to prove that no antiquarian could accept Chatterton's Rowley poems, he set to work on his own edition of Shakespeare. There were holidays in Ireland and there were London sociabilities; he was intimate with Johnson, Burke and Reynolds and was a member of the Club from 1782, and he dispensed elegant hospitality to a well-chosen circle, including the Irish of both parties when they were in London; but all the time the collection of material and the editorial labour went on. Malone wished to be able to say: "The meanest books have been carefully examined, only because they were of the age in which he lived, and might happily throw a light on some forgotten custom or obsolete phraseology: and, the object being still kept in view, the toil of wading through all such reading as was never read has been cheerfully endured." Horace Walpole might say that Malone's notes were "an extract of all the opium that is spread through the works of all the bad playwrights of that age"; but Malone was right. The illustrations were necessary, and he did not load them on, as others have done since, merely to show his learning. He was not a great nor even a good literary critic in the aesthetic sense; but he had a keen and, as might be expected from habit and heredity, a judicially constituted mind. He was the first learned Shakespearean who did not fall into the trap of cleverness, and his passion for truth was as great as his capacity for work. Incidentally, not the least of his innovations in criticism was good manners towards other critics.

Looking through the edition of Shakespeare, we find him establishing the canon, writing for example the essay on *Henry VI* which Porson declared to be one of the most convincing pieces of criticism he had ever read. We find him dismissing for all time the Second Folio and appreciating aright the relation between the First and the quartos. We find him studying the biographical documents and working out many a now accepted hypothesis, such as that Shakespeare began as a furbisher of other men's plays. We find him acutely postulating a lost *Hamlet* by Kyd, forerunner of Shakespeare's play. And we find him elaborating, as a necessary preface to Shakespeare, the first authoritative treatise on the early English drama and stage. Indeed, there is little strictly new in the "new Shakespeare criticism" of today, if we recall some of the things Malone thought of as well as those he actually did; one was to print the text in the old spelling, as it stood in quarto or folio, with a minimum of corrections.

The edition came out in 1790, and a small incident may be related

which will interest the Irish reader. Edmund Burke, acknowledging the gift of the book, sends Edmond Malone in exchange a copy of the newly printed second edition of one of his pamphlets, saying he had not sent the first edition of " that small *donum*, the fruit of a few weeks " lest he might seem to expect the ten volumes of Shakespeare in return. The small *donum* was *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

Malone's later work may be rapidly sketched. He did a lengthy refutation of the Ireland forgeries, which is really a pioneer miscellany of English philology and literary antiquities ; an edition of Reynolds's works and one of Dryden's prose, with a notable biography wherein Dryden's conversion is well defended ; and he revised his *Shakespeare*, though he did not live to see this in print. After Shakespeare, his greatest zeal was for Johnson. Of all the Doctor's friends, Malone was chosen to conduct the negotiations for the erection of his monument. And he had much to do with the making of Johnson's other and living monument too, Boswell's *Life*. Before he knew of Boswell's project he had kept records of Johnson's talk ; he gave these to Boswell, though some good bits remain in the notebook *Maloniana* printed by Prior. Of his collaboration with Boswell the latter wrote to a friend : " The revision of my *Life of Johnson*, by so acute and knowing a critic as Mr. Malone, is of most essential consequence, especially as he is *Johnsonianissimus ;* " and from other letters it appears that he could not get on with the work at all without Malone's help. When Boswell was dead, Malone became the editor of the *Life* and added much to its apparatus. It was fitting that in return the younger Boswell should at last give Malone's final *Shakespeare* to the world in 1821, in the twenty-five volumes which are still the standard complete edition.

Malone died in 1812. He had formed what he described truly in his will as " the most curious, valuable, and extensive collection ever assembled of ancient English plays and poetry." There were about 3,000 volumes ; he had paid for them prices which now seem fantastically low, but which were heavy for a private purse, such as £25 for the *Venus and Adonis* of 1593. With a fine piety, he wished that he should lie in the family burial ground and that his library should be an heirloom at Baronston, or go to Trinity College, Dublin. He was laid in the churchyard of Kilbixy near Baronston ; but his brother, an Oxonian, vacillated a while and then gave the books, of which the destination had not been made an absolute trust, to the Bodleian. There they are not the least among many riches.

J. J. Hogan

JOHN HOWLEY
1866—1941

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

By the death, on August the 29th, of John F. W. Howley, M.A., D.Litt., Professor Emeritus of University College, Galway, there passed from our midst a remarkable personality. On many counts we owe a tribute to his memory.

Though the family residence was Belleek House, Ballina, Dr. Howley was born in Sligo and received his early education at Summerhill College, from which he passed to St. Stanislaus College, Tullamore, then under the Rectorship of Father A. Sturzo, S.J. Here he spent the years 1882-1884 and then went up to University College, Dublin, to prepare for the examinations of the Royal University. His scholastic career was brilliant throughout. He won an exhibition in Junior Grade (from Summerhill) and came second in all Ireland in the Senior Grade. At the University he won a first-class exhibition and took his M.A. degree with honours. He followed two courses—the Science Course in Physics and Chemistry, and the Scholastic Philosophy Course in Logic, Psychology, Metaphysics, Ethics, Natural Theology, and the History of Philosophy. At the degree examination he presented these two courses and secured, with record high marks, one of the three honours degrees awarded that year.[1]

On leaving University College John Howley went to London, where he spent some years. He was comparatively well off at the time, but an act of trust and generosity reduced him to straitened circumstances. He and his only sister, who was to be his faithful companion till the end of her days, returned to Ireland. For some years he taught Psychology and Pedagogy at St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra. But in 1914 came his appointment as Professor of Philosophy in University College, Galway, and what proved to be his life-work began. It lasted for twenty-one years.

Dr. John Howley rendered signal service to University College, Galway. As a lecturer he had a thorough grasp of his subject, together with the power to make it clear and bring it home to his audience, often by means of homely illustrations. His lectures were not confined to the College class-rooms. He spoke at debating societies and before audiences of the general public, notably at Congresses of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, his themes being as a rule religious.[2] More-

[1] I owe these and many other details to an article signed M. H. in the University College (Galway) Annual for 1936-7.

[2] Mysticism in Everyday Life. Faith and Reason in Relation to truth. The God-Man Living in His Church.

over, he represented the University at important congresses abroad, such as the Universities Congress at Cambridge, the Conferences of the Library Association of England, the Congress of Scientific Philosophy at Paris. He was a canopy-bearer at the Catholic Emancipation celebration of 1929, and took part in the Eucharistic Congress of 1932. He was a member of the Academic Council and of the Governing Body of the College.

Dr. Howley became Librarian of the College in 1916, and in that capacity rendered invaluable aid to the students. In many other ways, too, he was their friend and counsellor. He was a good tennis-player and had gone to great pains to learn the game scientifically. He was always ready to direct and train tyros in his favourite pastime. He was also an excellent amateur photographer, an accomplishment suspected by few of his friends, and had carried off first-class honours at an examination under the London Institute of Technical Education. On the other hand he was President of the St. Vincent de Paul Society of the College.

In 1935 Dr. Howley retired from his professorship and took up residence in Dublin. Instead of settling down to a period of rest and learned leisure, he was soon enmeshed in a fresh network of activities. Radio Eireann claimed his services, the Library world seized upon him, and a variety of social and charitable organisations sought his help. To all he gave generously of his time and pains—yes, and all too generously of such modest resources as he possessed. On the radio he was heard on many topics—books of Catholic interest being his favourite line, but by no means the only one. He was appointed a member of the newly-formed Hospital Library Council and endeared himself to its members and to the staff of the Library. The Library Association of Ireland elected him its President, and I think its members will never quite lose the memory of his genial personality, his wise and well-informed addresses at its conferences, his helpfulness at all its meetings. He was a member, too, always cheerful and helpful, of the Books Committee of the Central Catholic Library.

Of his charities it may be enough to say that they left him always more or less on the verge of poverty. But they were so hidden that no definite information about them can now be obtained. Perhaps some reader may be able to supplement this and other aspects of Dr. Howley's life and personality.

The last year of his life was saddened by the illness and death of his sister. After that bereavement Dr. Howley lived entirely alone, without even a servant in the house. His cousins, who lived on Elgin Road, often begged him to come to live with them. He used to go to them every Sunday, but pleaded that he had much to settle up before he could change his residence. In reality I suspect he could

not bring himself to leave the neighbourhood of the Carmelite Convent at Roebuck and its associations with his beloved sister.

These were the outward events of Dr. Howley's career, a career that can scarcely be called eventful. But what was and is significant in Dr. Howley is not his career but his personality. I have been acquainted with him for about a quarter of a century. When in Galway I used to call on him, first at his house at the top of Taylor's Hill, and later at St. Mary's Terrace. But as these visits were short and the intervals between them sometimes long, I cannot claim intimate knowledge of him and so must rely partly on the testimony of others. One who knew him well some twenty-five years ago speaks of the extraordinarily holy lives lived by him and his sister. Then and since they were daily communicants and might be described as religious living in the world.

During the last few years of his life Dr. Howley resided, as I have said, near the Carmelite Convent of Roebuck. I may record, in the words of one of them, the impression he made upon the nuns : " It seemed to us that he was wholly given up to heavenly things. He was a noble and generous soul, with a spirit of sacrifice which was hidden by an almost childlike simplicity and a great sense of humour. Since he came to this neighbourhood he was a daily communicant in our little convent chapel, remaining each morning from half an hour to three quarters in thanksgiving and often staying for two Masses. He was a great admirer of our holy mother St. Teresa and named his house ' Cepeda ' after her surname. He was of a genial and sociable disposition, friendly to all who came to our chapel and at the same time most reserved. In short, he was a perfect gentleman."

It is remarkable how that word " genial " comes naturally to the mind of anybody who refers to John Howley. It is the best description of his outward bearing towards all and sundry. For all his deep piety he was most human and approachable. Though his interest lay in the writings of the saints and mystics, he was not above reading an occasional detective story to "vet " it for the staff of the hospital libraries. At the Conferences of the Library Association of Ireland, though he took seriously his duties as Chairman, he was always ready for a joke and told many an amusing story. He came to be a familiar figure at these gatherings. Those who were present will long remember the beret, the beard, the pipe, but much more the friendly smile and the hearty laugh. So unassuming was he that few suspected how wide and deep his learning really was.

Though he was interested in all branches of philosophy, his main interest lay in the philosophical bearings of asceticism and mysticism. These subjects he studied deeply, and they were the main theme of his writings. He was not a prolific writer. He published only one

book, *Psychology and Religious Experience* (1920), for which the degree of D.Litt. was conferred upon him by the National University of Ireland. He contributed articles to various periodicals—*The Month, Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Monthly Review, Macmillan's Magazine, Contemporary Review, New Ireland Review, Catholic Bulletin,* STUDIES. He also reviewed many books—especially works on mysticism and asceticism for STUDIES. He brought together a good collection of works dealing with his special interests, most of which were, at his express wish, presented after his death to the Central Catholic Library, Dublin.

STEPHEN J. BROWN

CHURCH AND STATE IN ITALY*

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

PROFESSOR BINCHY has been singularly happy or, perhaps better, singularly discerning in the choice of his theme; and his theme has been still more singularly happy in finding such a chronicler. They suit each other to perfection. There is no theme in secular history of more significance to humanity or of more abiding interest than the relations between the Catholic Church and the Powers of this world, be they Empires or Monarchies or Republics. And within each individual State, no part of its domestic life will present more delicate, more deep-seated or more far-reaching problems than the necessarily frequent and close contacts between the "things that are God's and the things that are Caesar's."

These two aspects of this subject are quite distinct, and Professor Binchy is rightly at great pains to keep them so. It is one thing to secure the absolute independence and temporal sovereignty of the Pope or to deprive him of it: this is the question of the Temporal Power of the Papacy or "The Roman Question" of recent decades. Its answer has world-wide effects and importance, regulating the position of the Papal Court at the Vatican in regard to every organised State in the world. It deals with the due position of the Papacy in the comity of nations as an internationally recognised sovereign power. It is quite another thing to decide truly in theory and adjust satisfactorily in practice the internal relations between Church and State in any given country. This is a second and possibly a more important problem, with whose history this book also deals so far at least as Fascist Italy (1922-1939) is concerned.

Long and peculiarly sad experience has led readers to look upon

* *Church and State in Fascist Italy.* By D. A. Binchy. Oxford University Press. 1941. 31s. 6d.

such a theme as being inevitably dull and dusty, sicklied o'er with the pale unreal reflection of the library lamp. But a revelation awaits the reader of this book; for, as I have said, the subject has been fortunate in its chronicler. He is a professor of legal history and jurisprudence; and the very barest essentials for this chronicle are that its writer should be both a trained lawyer and a trained historian. But there are historians and historians; and the chances are always heavily against getting a historian who is a true historian—objective, accurate, conscientious, industrious and painstaking in research—and who can yet be singularly sensitive to the human pathos, the *lacrimae rerum*, of both sublime and common things and can write a coloured and glowing page, close to the tradition of the few great historians.

There is no doubt that, within its own self-imposed limitations, this book is as near a masterpiece as makes no matter. There has gone to its construction brilliancy indeed, but much more besides. Every page reveals an accurate and deep knowledge of the documents, a full understanding of the intricacies of the Church's political philosophy and canon law, a startlingly luminous exposition of involved and tangled problems of theology or history. Such matter may seem heavy and uninspiring; but Professor Binchy has a keen sense of the dramatic and omits no opportunity of letting it be seen; and he uses his rich gifts of wit, humour and irony lavishly and delightfully—if at times a little maliciously—to enliven and illustrate his pages. His anecdotes and collection of *obiter dicta* of his chief characters are made, with admirable skill, to sparkle and gleam in their setting of more sober narrative. At times one feels that one is reading the more choice pages of some book of memoirs recounting the gossip of Rome. Professor Binchy has, indeed, distilled for us the essence of all the tragedy and all the comedy of some seventy years of Church history.

The book begins with an admirable couple of chapters on the philosophy and history of the Roman Question. The well-worn arguments against the Temporal Power of the Papacy are put with great skill and cogency. But the author fully appreciates and convincingly urges the one vital argument for some form of earthly sovereignty for the Vicar of Christ on earth—even be it enshrined, as now, in a mere "Franciscan minimum of territory." "It is that the head of the Church, whose spiritual empire is universal and supra-national, must himself be subject to no earthly power . . . . It is true that for Catholics the Sovereign Pontiff is sovereign *ex officio* quite independently of any secular dominion. But it is also necessary that this innate sovereignty be manifest to and recognised by all nations; and as long as secular powers postulate territorial jurisdiction as a condition of sovereignty, the Pope must rule over some territory." If not essential to the *esse* of Christ's Church, some form of Temporal Power is essential to its *bene esse* in present circumstances.

There is a sensitive analysis of the differing policies of the various Popes during the sixty years *dissidio.* Beginning with the " stark intransigence " of Pio Nono, we advance to the " diplomatic suppleness " and " tortuous courses " by which Leo XIII kept the Roman Question before the eyes of the world as a most reasonable and urgent grievance, so as to make King Humbert complain : " It is he who still rules in Rome ; I have only the edge of the chair to sit on." Pius X kept the Question in the background for more than one weighty reason and permitted the relations between the Curia and the Italian State to improve—at least semi-officially and *in praxi*, if not in theory. Indeed, the author quotes an alleged remark of Pius X illustrating his view : " If Victor Emmanuel were to offer to abandon Rome to him he would at once reply ' Stay where you are '." During the 1914-1918 War Benedict XV, with all the diplomatic skill of another Leo, managed to prevent the Question from poisoning the relations between the Vatican and the Italian Government and people. His Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, found an opportunity (just when the Italian Government was signing a secret treaty with England against the claims of the Holy See) to make a public statement : " The Holy See, as befits its neutrality, has no intention whatever of embarrassing the Government ; it puts its trust in God and awaits a proper readjustment of its situation, not from foreign arms, but rather from the triumph of those sentiments of justice which, it hopes, are steadily gaining ground among the Italian people."

But Pius XI it is who holds the centre of the stage in this book. His portrait as painted by Professor Binchy is little short of a masterpiece in miniature : a chance " spark from Heaven," one might attribute it to, were it not followed by an almost equally brilliant diptych of the Mussolini brothers, Benito and Arnaldo. Pius XI was a Lombard, with all " the shrewdness, tenacity of purpose, the complete freedom from sentimentality and impulsiveness which are characteristic of that hard-headed stock, ' the Scotchmen of Italy '." He would seem to have had some " distrust of political democracy," and his natural cast of mind was authoritarian. In Poland, as Nuncio Apostolic, he let the world see him, for the first time, in that role of fighter with which it was so soon and for so long to be familiar and by which, perhaps, he will be longest remembered : calm, fearless, tenacious, clear-headed in the turmoil, undaunted by the most uneven chances, unshaken by the threat or the display of atrocity or brutality. The world certainly will not easily forget the names of Stalin and Mussolini and Hitler ; but when it recalls them it will perforce recall a fourth name, which was in their day the incarnation of moral and physical courage and which shone out over against theirs as a symbol of justice and mercy and peace. It is not easy to find in history a Pope who had three such

opponents to contend with simultaneously nor one who won greater success. He was " at his most impressive in adversity, cool, inflexible, serene," writes the author, and concludes with this fine tribute : " It seemed that no tribulation could break that dauntless spirit or even halt it for a second on the path of duty. In the sunset of his life he stands, as it were, the living embodiment of the charity of Christ, pleading in the name of his Master the cause of the persecuted Jews. Racked with pain, heedless of the insults that rained on him from the Nazi and the Fascist press, he fought on to the close, thundering against the ' hateful doctrines ' of racialism and exaggerated nationalism and proclaiming the universality of the Christian message to all men and nations."

It is almost incredible that a writer who could enter so fully into the character and personality of Pius XI should, when one turns the page, present so understanding and impartial a sketch of Mussolini as Professor Binchy has done. He is far from being an admirer of Mussolini and makes no secret of that fact. But his consciousness of this has tended to make him all the more scrupulous to be meticulously fair to him. He has, however, juxtaposed a truly exquisite, almost tender, picture of Arnaldo Mussolini to that of Benito in such a way as to heighten all the transient greatness and glory of the Dictator, his qualities and defects, his achievements and their renown, and yet to leave the impression that of the two it was the simple, ordinary believing and practising Catholic, his much-loved and much-loving brother Arnaldo, who had really possessed the finer qualities and had really found the secret of true greatness.

The main portion of the book consists of two long sections, one dealing with the political settlement, that is, the solution of the Roman Question, the other dealing with the religious settlement, that is, the future relations between the Catholic Church in Italy and the Italian State. Roughly speaking, this corresponds to the difference between the " Treaty " and the " Concordat," both of which together in Pius XI's view formed the indissoluble unity of the Lateran Settlement. The hundred pages devoted to the political settlement are a model of clarity, conciseness and completeness. The details of the Treaty are discussed with great learning, and a shrewd and wise estimate of the value of the agreement is given : the extent of the territorial arrangement and its reasons, the financial clauses, with something about the " wealth " of the Papacy, and the diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal.

But it is Professor Binchy's treatment of the religious settlement that will be of the greatest interest to students, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, and indeed to all political philosophers and statesmen the world over. Fortunately he has displayed his powers to perfection

in rising to the height of this great argument, with its echoes of Hildebrand, Boniface and Innocent sounding down to our own day. It is impossible here to do more than mention the questions, familiar to us all, with which he has dealt in a most able fashion. These are the questions that have always been and will always be the most delicate and yet the most urgent for any modern State. There is, first and foremost, the question of an " established Church," its advantages and dangers. There is, then, that most thorny and fought-over question of Christian marriage—sacrament and contract, indissoluble and one, with both ecclesiastical and civil consequences. There is the question which the author calls " The Custody of the Child "—by family, Church or State ? Or all three—but in what spheres ? And with this goes closely linked the vital question of education—its control and its content. Finally, two big problems of more recent date and of insistent actuality, the " racialist heresy " and " Azione Cattolica," have to be explained and debated as they affect Italy and Catholicism in Italy. It is difficult to speak with restraint about the way Professor Binchy has exposed, clarified, discussed and weighed these matters. His treatment of them is masterly and, coming from a layman, a remarkable *tour de force.*

The most bitter defeat which Pius XI suffered at the hands of Mussolini was in the battle for " the custody of the child." It was a long and fierce struggle, and the final defeat came, as Professor Binchy notes with his usual sense of the dramatic, just as the Pope's eyes closed in death. " The Carta della Scuola, published (perhaps not entirely by accident) while the body of Pius XI lay in state in St. Peter's, may well have sounded the death-knell of the once flourishing youth organisations, ' dear to us as the apple of our eye,' for whose independence he had fought so tenaciously." Here as elsewhere the author writes with great restraint ; but he feels keenly, it is clear, the pathos and tragedy of the story he has to tell ; and his final judgment, frank and fearless, is : " My own opinion, for what it is worth, is wholeheartedly on the side of those who see in the Fascist dragooning of youth the most subtle and therefore the most serious menace to the future of Catholicism in Italy."

Professor Binchy ends his book on a gloomy note : " The outlook for the Church in Italy, whether under a Fascist or an anti-Fascist dispensation, is bleak and menacing." But he quotes a final word from Pius XI, the hero of this book : " The future is in the hands of God—and therefore in good hands." And anyone reading the history of the dark days weathered by the Papacy since 1870 as it is unfolded by Professor Binchy himself, cannot but share the confidence and serene trust of the Pope.

E. J. Coyne

REVIEWS

Archaeology

CHRISTIAN ART IN ANCIENT IRELAND. Vol. II. Edited on behalf of the Government of Ireland by Joseph Raftery, M.A., D.Phil. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1941. 30s. net.

From the Irish point of view the publication of the second volume of this magnificent work is an event of national significance. The first volume, under the editorship of Dr. Mahr, had appeared as far back as 1932. Accompanying its 80 plates, worthily produced by the Ordnance Survey Department, was a short general introduction and nothing more. Thus the really serious archaeological discussions and the descriptive and chronological notes were left over for the second volume, where they have been admirably provided in sections that fill about 170 folio pages. The remainder of the book comprises 50 plates, so that the total number of these is 130. It is a selection drawn from an exceedingly large stock and thereby, as Dr. Mahr emphatically states, in no sense represents an adequate treatment of any branch of Irish Christian art—save perhaps metal-work. The one great purpose which the work is designed to serve is to make early Irish artistic material familiar to Continental scholars.

If the range is, of necessity, limited, it is nevertheless very considerable. Among the objects described in detail, and with an immense wealth of knowledge, by Dr. Raftery are illuminated manuscripts, book mounts, tabernacle mounts, chalices, patens and other sacred vessels; altar, processional and pectoral crosses, thuribles, the mediaeval "pax," a panel of metal, ivory or wood kissed by clergy and faithful at Mass (when the ancient embrace and kiss had temporarily been abandoned); reliquaries, house-shaped shrine medallions, book-shrines or cumhdachs, bells and bell-shrines, croziers; and, in the secular order, brooches, pins, horse trappings, miscellaneous articles of uncertain use. Apart from the pagan background, the periods covered are five, dating from about 600 A.D. to the later Middle Ages. Ireland, though an island, was never cut off from the great world outside; she was, indeed, ever ready to receive, as well as to export, artistic ideas. To the Vikings she gave so much that the Jellinge style of Scandinavian art in the tenth century has, in Dr. Mahr's words, "an almost Irish appearance." From the Northmen she took in return their characteristic ornamental motif, the violently contorted animal that suggests the griffin of fable.

Development is the law of life, but it does not follow that every change is necessarily for the better. Few, we think, will seriously contend that the Viking period in Irish art, A.D. 850 to 1000, is comparable with that which went before. This earlier period, to which Dr. Mahr attaches the rather unsatisfactory label "Vernacular," draws its ribbon-interlacing and other designs of a geometrical character from

the late classical world; but an equally marked feature of the style is the curvilinear pattern inherited from the Celtic La Tène art of pagan days. The resulting blend appears in a definite form about A.D. 620. It belongs thus to the markedly monastic and intensely vital era in the history of the Irish Church. To such an extent was this the case that Dr. Mahr can write: "Hibernian art at its best was, even in matters profane, essentially a monastic phenomenon." The peak point was reached about the year 700. To quote Dr. Mahr again: "The ecclesiastical foundations (such as Durrow, Kells, Armagh, Iona, etc.), where such masterpieces were perfected, were at that time far ahead of most other European seats of culture in both learning and artistic ability." He continues: "These achievements show the finest blossom of the Keltic genius in complexity of design combined with elegance of the individual elements, a never-erring security in taste and an inexhaustible fantasy. But what gives this art its supreme flavour is the inherent life-power of the curvilinear patterns, the La Tène heritage as applied to the old geometrical and to the new zoomorphic forms, the spirited swing of the curve, its acceleration, its ebbing-away, and the immanent principle on the part of the artist never to repeat himself, never to copy his own patterns. This high standard was maintained for a surprisingly long time, its *floruit* lasting from about 650 to about 750 or somewhat later."

On the architectural side the advance was on a more modest scale. This, in fact, was the case everywhere among the Celts, and was due, in all probability, to their warlike propensities. A king who erected a fine palace in stone and fitted it out elaborately would simply be inviting trouble! The consequence was that houses were built of perishable material, and if they were quickly destroyed during a hostile incursion they were restored with equal ease once the enemy had departed. Evidence, however, of more ambitious aims even in this field of art are abundant in the ecclesiastical records. St. Brigid's Church at Kildare, though constructed of wood, must have been an imposing edifice. So, no doubt, were many another *dairtech* and *recles* in the prominent monastic settlements. In the volume under review Mr. H. G. Leask, than whom none is better qualified to speak, traces the whole development of architecture and sculpture in Ireland during the early Christian epoch. We note that, unlike Mademoiselle Henry, he dates the first of our belfries or Round Towers to the last quarter of the ninth century, to the lull in Norse attacks which the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* calls the "Forty Years of Rest." These towers are well and solidly built and, despite their small size, must have rendered priceless service as places of refuge. We may wonder, then, why protection by means of strong walls was not afforded to every church. The stone was available in unlimited quantity; the masons

perfectly capable of executing the task. A wall twenty feet high and six feet thick round any monastery would have made it an impregnable fortress, for the success of the Norse as raiders was due largely to mobility and the element of surprise. They did not specialise in siege warfare ; and, even if they did, the necessary delay would expose them to fatal danger, since an Irish army of overwhelming strength could always be mobilised if only the leaders were given time. This, we sadly reflect, is one of the might-have-beens of Irish history.

The remarkable series of high-crosses shows that the Irish sculptor was well able to handle a material as refractory as stone. That influences from the Rhineland might make themselves felt in early twelfth century Ireland is proved by the exquisite chapel of King Cormac Mac Carthy (Mr. Leask calls him " king and bishop," but the weight of evidence is against his episcopal character) at Cashel. While Mademoiselle Henry, for instance, is inclined to dismiss Irish Romanesque with a shrug as a mere local variant of a style common to much of Europe, Mr. Leask is impressed by the contrary phenomenon, the persistence of a specific Irish quality even in the general style. Speaking of the doorway at Clonfert, built about 1166, he says : " In its main features, the grouped pillars of the inclined jambs, the tall gable whose sides spring tangentially from the curve of the hood-moulding, it is native ; not less so is the amazing wealth of surface ornament which covers its every part : the human heads which fill the gable, the small animal heads which crowd the abacus or impost moulding, and the larger ox-heads which flank the arch." With the coming of the Cistercians, followed within a generation by the Norman Conquest, Continental Gothic was to triumph over Romanesque.

It goes without saying that these archaeological discussions are of much value to the historian. A few points may be briefly indicated. The late appearance of La Tène artistic remains (not before B.C. 150), their circumscription within a relatively small area, the possibility that they were brought hither by invaders, are pieces of evidence that must be taken into account in fixing the date of the Celtic colonization of Ireland. Some material has been added in recent years, but the archaeological indications of contact between Ireland and the Roman province of Britain are still almost incredibly scanty. From Roman maledictions on the Picts and Scots it is obvious that intercourse was frequent, if unfriendly. The fate of the objects brought back by the raiders has not yet been satisfactorily explained. After the conversion of Ireland by the Briton, St. Patrick, the Church in Ireland and the Church in Britain continued to be on the most intimate terms. There came, however, within the British Church, a tremendous change, which has almost completely escaped the notice of scholars. In St. Patrick's day the Church in Britain was Latin-speaking, based on

Roman municipalities or towns. This ecclesiastical system was shattered by the Saxons and the rest of the northern barbarians. The Church had to flee from the ruined urban centres into the countryside, where British (of which Welsh is the lineal descendant) was the spoken tongue. New ecclesiastical centres, rural, so to speak, in character, were found in the monasteries. Thus a linguistic and administrative revolution had taken place in the British Church by the year A.D. 530 or thereabouts. It was the British Church in this form which exercised such a profound influence on the Irish Church, especially in the sixth century. When this is understood, the change within Ireland itself from the system established by St. Patrick becomes more easily intelligible. By the time that the Anglo-Saxons have become converted and the Irish Church, through its missionaries and pilgrims, brought into contact with the Gallic and other Churches of the West, the mould into which it had fitted itself at home had become permanent. And, of course, there remains the nice question whether some such mould would not, in any case, inevitably come, seeing that the Irish State and Irish civil conditions differed so much from States and conditions on the Continent.

In the long list of objects described and classified so ably by Dr. Raftery the attention is held by the number of such objects that now lies in Scandinavian museums. The conclusion suggested is that the Irish material of artistic value looted by the Norse was simply enormous. As a matter of fact booty of the kind has been discovered in about two hundred Norwegian graves of the ninth and tenth centuries. As these are obviously but a small number of the Norwegian graves that belong to this epoch, the loss suffered by Ireland must have been incalculable. The general evidence from the Plates points in the same direction: the artistic activity in the Ireland of those centuries was boundless, and the treasure employed in the service of God and the Church was immense. No doubt the wealth of the country in manuscripts was equally striking. This material, being perishable, was lost for ever, while much of the metal-work remained. When the cynic, then, comments on the paucity of the manuscripts that have actually survived and rejects with a superior smile the "convenient theory" that there were others in abundance, destroyed during the Viking wars, he is adopting a standpoint as unjust as it is unhistorical. From the archaeological material here illustrated the argument *a pari* is that manuscripts were numbered by the hundred, if not by the thousand.

Some, at least, of the inscriptions on the shrines excite the historian's interest. Thus on the shrine of the "Stowe Missal" Donnchad, son of Brian Boruma, is called blandly "King of Ireland," a claim rarely made for him, and never save in strongly partisan Munster sources.

At the same time Mac Raith Ó Donnchada is called " King of Cashel." He belonged to the Eoganachta of that kingdom, dispossessed by the O Briens, and to a family (distinct from the O Donoghues of Cork and Kerry) that was on terms of rivalry with the McCarthys. Up to the death of this Mac Raith in 1052 the McCarthy family was in eclipse. It then began to rise and was definitely in the ascendant when the shrine of St. Lachtin's Arm was fashioned. Tadg McCarthy was then king ; his brother Cormac was *rígdamna*, both probably of the Eoganachta of Cashel only, whatever their theories or ambitions, for on the same shrine is mentioned Maelsechnaill Ua Ceallacháin, who at his death in 1121 is called in the Annals of Innisfallen " King of the South of Ireland." Other records call him King of the Uí Eathach Muman. As he died at Cork, accerding to the same Innisfallen Annals, his claim to be supreme in the south was probably no empty boast.

These are but a few of the numerous questions that attract attention in this splendid work, a credit at once to the Government that sponsored its publication and to Dr. Raftery, who piloted this second volume so successfully through the press under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty. J. R.

Biography

FATHER JOHN SULLIVAN, S.J. By Rev. Fergal McGrath, S.J. London : Longmans. 1941. 8s. 6d.

Here is a book that throws much light on Dublin life of fifty years ago and, at the same time, sets an interesting problem in religious psychology. Those who knew Clongowes for the quarter of a century that lies between 1907 and 1933 (the date of Father John Sullivan's death) will not need to be reminded of a priest whose odd ways and intense shyness of manner could never conceal the presence of unusual sanctity. It was indeed a question for his religious brethren. Here was a Jesuit who, for most of the years he spent at Clongowes, was given the responsible post of Spiritual Father to the boys at the school. By nature he seemed to lack all or almost all the qualities that usually attract young boys and win their confidence. Nobody who knew the work done by Father Sullivan in the countryside round Clongowes could question his power for good in work of this kind. But was he the man to help boys in their trouble ? To guide them in decisions that might affect the whole course of their life ? The answer was not easily given in argument ; but there must be many who passed through Clongowes during those years and who can say (as Father McGrath says in the preface to this biography) that they would wish to offer " a humble and sincere tribute to the memory of a man whom from boyhood they have learned to love and revere."

A good deal of the mystery that surrounds Father Sullivan's life, as seen by the boys at Clongowes, is explained in this most interesting

volume. Father Sullivan came of a family that had abandoned the Catholic faith for motives of worldly ambition in the eighteenth century. His father, who lived to be first Sergeant Sullivan, then Solicitor-General, Attorney-General and finally Lord Chancellor of Ireland, had been educated at the endowed school at Midleton and at Trinity College. In 1850, when he was twenty-eight years old, he married a Catholic lady, Miss Elizabeth Baily. According to the custom then prevailing in Irish life, the four sons born of this marriage were educated as Protestants, whilst the one daughter (the eldest of the family) was educated a Catholic. Mrs. (afterwards Lady) Sullivan was a woman of deep faith and piety : those who knew her Jesuit son will remember his life-long devotion to Saint Monica, and will read in this book that Father John always ascribed his own conversion to his mother's prayers and tears. His sister, Anne Sullivan, was a devout Catholic all her life and a well-known worker in various Catholic charitable causes.

Young John Sullivan was born in 1861, just as his father, then Sergeant Sullivan, was rising to the first rank in the old Dublin Bar. A friend of the mother, who later became a member of the community of the Sacred Heart Convent, Armagh, remembered seeing Lady Sullivan weep after the birth of this her youngest son—for she had wished and prayed that this child might be a daughter, whom she would be free to educate in the Catholic faith. Father John had good reason to be grateful to God for his mother's prayers. He was sent to school at Portora, where he took many prizes in Classics ; and later was a student at Trinity College, under Tyrrell, Palmer and Mahaffy. Father McGrath has many interesting reminiscences to record of those early days ; and he notes that Tyrrell's cousin, the celebrated Father George Tyrrell, had entered the Jesuit novitiate in Roehampton just one year after John Sullivan's first appearance in Trinity College. Twenty-seven years later Father John Sullivan was ordained a priest at Milltown Park—a few weeks after the issue of the papal bull *Lamentabili*, which was the Church's official condemnation of the Modernist heresy in which Father George Tyrrell had been so deeply involved. It is impossible to ignore this background in attempting to resolve the problem of Father Sullivan's conversion and extremely ascetic form of religious observance.

To those who knew the Father Sullivan of later years, some of the stories told in these pages will seem almost beyond belief. Father John's brother, Sir William Sullivan, is quoted once as saying that the contrast between the old John Sullivan and the new could only be appreciated by those who remembered the excellence of his whist in the early days. And the excellence of his whist was in keeping with the excellence of the wines which he had learned to taste from even earlier days (" I want my kwaret " was his youthful appeal for a taste

of claret !) and with the fastidiousness of his dress as a young man. Add to that a comfortable allowance, which made routine work unnecessary, and a taste for travel in foreign parts. It does not seem the ideal preparation for a Jesuit novitiate—even though some of the travels had taken him to Mount Athos.

Those who read this life may well ask themselves whether a man has the right so completely to fight down his own nature as Father John evidently fought down his. Even his intellectual life was not spared—for there was little trace of the pupil of Tyrrell and Palmer in the Father Sullivan who laboured so strenuously (and, on the whole, so successfully) to get backward boys in Pass classes through their Latin in Middle and Senior Grades. The answer is found in many a Gospel saying, that will recur to the reluctant mind again and again as the anecdotes told in this book are remembered or learned here for the first time. Certainly Father John Sullivan lost his life that he might find it. And he found a new life, most abundantly, in the unwearying charity which made him, for so many long years, the merciful and compassionate servant of the poor. The veneration of the simple people round Clongowes, even more than the impression made by his ascetic piety on so many generations of Clongowes boys, attests the reality of his self-conquest. He fought a hard fight, and there is no sign that he had relented anywhere in his long struggle against self, until at the age of seventy-two, in great pain but with undaunted faith and courage, he died in St. Vincent's Hospital, Dublin, on Sunday, February 19, 1933.

It is only fitting that this review should end with a word of congratulation to the author, whose skill and tact in working a series of disjointed and casual reminiscences into a single whole is evident on every page of this book. A. G.

FROM CABIN BOY TO ARCHBISHOP. By Archbishop Ullathorne. With an Introduction by Shane Leslie. London : Burns Oates. 1941. 15s.

Archbishop Ullathorne's *Autobiography* is a book that, once read, is not easily easily forgotten. It was written in 1868, when the Archbishop was sixty-two years old—just before the Vatican Council, whose sessions he has described so vividly in a series of letters which form the substance of Abbot Butler's two volumes on the Council. Ullathorne lived for more than twenty years after he had completed his *Autobiography*, but it was neither changed nor printed in his lifetime. When he died in 1889, Mother Augusta Theodosia Drane, who was then Superior of the Dominican community at Stone, undertook the task of preparing it for publication. Inevitably she omitted much that could hardly be printed so soon after the Archbishop's death, and

—with less justification—she pruned the style of Ullathorne's original, often depriving it of the forceful idiom which he had inherited from his Yorkshire parents. Mr. Leslie has now issued the original text as it has been preserved at Stone, dividing it for the reader's convenience into sections, with titles that are sometimes Ullathorne's, sometimes the modern editor's. He has also added a short but most interesting Introduction, in which he seeks to pass final judgment on Ullathorne as one of a generation of great English Catholic prelates.

For those who have not read the *Autobiography* in its earlier form, the most interesting chapters must always be those in which Ullathorne tells with great vigour and freshness the story of his Australian adventure, his first contacts with Father Therry, the Irish apostle of New South Wales, and his campaign for the reform of an iniquitous convict system. These chapters (with the brief but unforgettable account of his own conversion to a more religious life as a young midshipman) formed the substance of Mother Drane's edition. The unrevised original adds point to many of Ullathorne's comments on his contemporaries, and strengthens the case for those who hold that, though a born organiser and ruler, Ullathorne was by nature unable to understand and handle an Irish priest like Father Therry. Indeed, it may be doubted whether Ullathorne could ever have adapted himself to the pioneer life of the Australian bush. He found his chance, and took it, in the courageous task of opposing, almost single-handed, the whole governmental system of rule in New South Wales as he had learned to know it in Botany Bay, Norfolk Island and Van Dieman's Land. For the work he did in that memorable campaign his name must rank with other great English philanthropic reformers. His impressions of Irish life as he saw it during a tour through the country in 1836-7 are also well worth reading. The young Benedictine missionary came into personal contact with Mother Mary Aikenhead, Mother Macaulay, Father Peter Kenney, S.J., and the famous Irish controversialist, Father Tom Maguire.

The new material which can be read here for the first time is concerned for the most part with Ullathorne's experiences at Bristol and Prior Park. Here we have a vivid account of the clash between an ardent champion of strong ecclesiastical government and the group of Old English Catholics who had hitherto dominated the Vicariate of the Western District. Dr. Brindle and his associates had made Prior Park a centre of almost impregnable resistance to any form of change. They had also completely bankrupted the Vicariate, and Ullathorne needed all his powers of self-confidence and self-assertion to break through their combined resistance. It is not an edifying story, even at this distance of time; and it is easy to understand why Mother Drane, or her ecclesiastical advisers, decided to suppress it in

the first three editions of the *Autobiography*. But Mr. Leslie is a specialist in the history of English Catholic life after the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850, and he is right in insisting that Ullathorne's reminiscences are a most valuable document for those who wish to appreciate the revolutionary change which followed that reorganisation of Catholic life in England. Ullathorne is one of the great figures in this whole story, and it is good to have his own unrevised and unexpurgated account of the opposition with which he was faced when he first attempted to rule the Western District on Roman lines.

Small wonder that the Roman authorities, having learned to appreciate his driving force and his gift for sound and spiritual government, appointed him first Bishop of Birmingham at the time of the Restoration in 1850. With that appointment this narrative breaks off abruptly. Those who wish to know more of the later Ullathorne should turn to Abbot Butler's full biography in two volumes or to the same author's two volumes on *The Vatican Council*. P. D.

Classics

THE DRAMA OF EURIPIDES. By G. M. A. Grube. London: Methuen. 1941. 22s. 6d. net.

ORATIONES ET EPISTOLAE DUBLINENSES. 1914-1940. By Sir Robert William Tate, K.B.E. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1941.

THERE is probably no great writer of ancient times whose fame has been so widely fluctuating as that of Euripides. Subject to vehement attacks and to the vilest lampoons during his lifetime, he was forced in his old age to take refuge at the court of King Archelaos of Macedon, and his plays were very seldom awarded prizes by his Athenian fellow-citizens, though Plutarch's famous story of the prisoners in Syracuse attests a certain popularity. After his death he very soon became the most widely read and most frequently acted of the tragic poets, and even during the Middle Ages he was so much the favourite in the schools of the Eastern Roman Empire that nineteen of his plays have survived to our day as compared with only seven apiece for Aeschylus and Sophocles. The New Comedy, which succeeded in the later Greek world to the glory of Attic Tragedy, really owed more to Euripides than to his critic, Aristophanes. Through his influence on Seneca, he was the indirect progenitor of the great Elizabethan dramatists, and both Racine and Goethe made him a model for some of their best work. Romantic criticism found him distasteful for reasons very different from those which made him unpopular with his own contemporaries, and this nineteenth-century dislike has not yet altogether ceased to affect his editors.

During the last fifty years the pendulum has gradually swung back again, and through the medium of such excellent translations as those of Professor Murray, Euripides has once more become popular not so much with schoolboys as on the public stage. Unfortunately this healthy reaction has not always been discriminating: as so often happens, critics have tended to admire the right things for the wrong reason. The work of the late Professor Verrall of Cambridge, brilliant but very wrong-headed, has found continuators even to the present day, and through his teaching the most intensely dramatic of all tragic poets has been too often presented as an ingenious "rationalist" and anti-clerical pamphleteer or as a distant predecessor of Mr. G. B. Shaw. The work under review, written by a distinguished Canadian professor, is a highly successful essay at setting the dramatist in a true light. Probably few really well-informed scholars nowadays even take the trouble to read Verrall's misguided interpretations, though his *Euripides the Rationalist* was first published as recently as 1913. He has at any rate done one useful service in providing a stalking-horse for the far sounder criticism of Mr. Grube, who does not fail also to point out one or two of Professor Murray's more notorious lapses in his generally fine translations.

About two-thirds of Mr. Grube's book consists of very clear and interesting analysis of the individual plays, in which their dramatic meaning is well brought out and many familiar difficulties discussed with both erudition and common-sense. Every student will have his own views about particular points of detail, but none will fail to derive help from Mr. Grube's luminous objectivity. Excellent as is this part of the book, the seven general chapters which precede it are even better. After a most useful introductory discussion of the main obstacles which hinder the modern reader's understanding of Euripides and which arise partly from different emotional emphasis and partly from different conventions, Mr. Grube goes on to show how the poet's work was affected by contemporary influences, by his peculiar religious standpoint, and by the traditional elements which made the framework of his plays. Especially valuable are the chapters on what we unfortunately call, by a wrong application of two Greek words, the prologues and the epilogues, which are so puzzling a feature of Euripidean tragedy, and on the function of the chorus.

In every aspect of his sensitive and varied art, the poet is shown to be first and foremost a supreme dramatist, and many criticisms of his alleged irrelevancies and anachronisms are convincingly disposed of. A great innovator he unquestionably was, but all his innovations were directed towards greater theatrical effect, and from first to last he was ready to break down existing conventions to suit his purpose. A striking instance of this is seen in his series of semi-comic melodramas

culminating in the *Helen*, rightly described by Mr. Grube as sheer comedy in the guise of tragedy. On Euripides' attitude to the gods also Mr. Grube is illuminating, and seems to the reviewer to have chosen the best line of approach to a thorny subject. Throughout the book the general reader is kept in view even more than the specialist, and all students of drama are strongly recommended to include Mr. Grube in their list of authorities.

The custom of printing the addresses of the Public Orator in introducing distinguished recipients of honorary degrees and in congratulating other learned bodies on their great occasions is well established in the older universities, and Sir Robert Tate's elegant volume has had a noble predecessor from the hand of R. Y. Tyrrell. Special interest is lent to the present publication by a learned brief introduction from Rev. C. B. Phipps on the office of Public Orator and its history in Cambridge and Dublin. The addresses themselves will be treasured both for the long roll of great names they so sonorously commemorate and for the felicitous Latinity of their versatile composer. Here we have a series of lapidary sketches of famous men and women from many lands, among them not a few from the sister University, such as the present President of University College, who have received honorary degrees in the University of Dublin since 1914. To these are added addresses to learned bodies abroad, including one in Greek to the University of Athens on its 1937 centenary celebration. No higher praise could be given to the present Public Orator of Trinity than the assurance that he has brilliantly maintained a brilliant tradition.

M. T.

History

THE WOOL TRADE IN ENGLISH MEDIEVAL HISTORY. By Eileen Power. London: Oxford University Press. 1941. 7s. 6d.

Eileen Power gave most of her working years to a study of the English wool trade. Her first book on the subject (*The Paycockes of Coggeshall*) appeared as far back as 1920. The present slight volume, in bulk not in content, is the text of six Ford Lectures which she gave at Oxford in the Hilary Term of 1939. The lectures were planned as a preliminary sketch of a *History of the Medieval English Wool Trade*, to be completed in 1940. But the author's sudden death left a fellow-worker in charge of her notes, with the difficult task of deciding what to add or omit. The Blitzkrieg of the past twelve months brought danger to all scholarly work, and the decision to publish the lectures as they stand, without foot-notes or bibliography, will be welcomed by a large number of non-specialist readers. Even for the specialist few this book is crammed with observations and comments that repay careful study.

The author was familiar with a large mass of medieval documents and records; but she was also familiar with the daily life of the English countryside, and her book constantly recalls scenes that are modern as well as medieval. Writing of some records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Professor Power comments: "In these reeve's and bailiff's accounts the long round of the shepherd's year unrolls itself like one of those horizontal Chinese scrolls, that have taken one from spring to winter by the time the eye has travelled along their length. We see the shepherd at the lambing season in the dark sheep-house, for which he lays in a stock of candles, since he must sit up all night. We see the pails of milk carried down from the dairy for the weakly lambs, and the great earthenware pots in which it was heated." And there is another tempting passage, in which this lover of England's sheep-farms suggests a walking-tour "wool-gathering" through the Cotswolds, from Chipping Campden, where William Grevil lies—"the flower of the wool merchants of all England"—to Fairford, with its famous stained-glass windows, the gift of a woolman, to Cirencester and Sevenhampton and Lechlade. Or again this pleasant motto, which Eileen Power noted over the door of a fifteenth century wool merchant, and which she aptly applies to the whole structure of medieval English economic life:

> "I praise God, and ever shall;
> It is the sheep have paid for all."

Not for nothing does the English Lord Chancellor still sit on a woolsack! The fifth of these lectures gives an exceptionally able review of the growth of English parliamentary institutions under pressure of a three-cornered fight between the King (always eager for money to be raised in the form either of a tax on wool or a tax to be paid in wool), the sheep-farmers, large and small, and a small group of wealthy merchants who took occasion of the King's needs to strike a profitable bargain for themselves, gaining from the Crown some valuable privileges whilst they passed the burden of each tax on to the producer in the form of a lower price for home-grown sheep. That struggle begins under Edward I, but comes to its climax under Edward III with the spendthrift policy of the Hundred Years' War. The war marks an epoch in English financial history. Hitherto foreign agents—Jews or Flemings or Italians—had been the bankers on whom the King could count for the money he was forced to borrow. But the boom period of the wool trade in the first half of the fourteenth century produced a group of pre-capitalist merchants who, for a time at least, were rich enough to meet the King's demands from their own resources. Bankruptcies soon put an end to that tradition, and the wool trade was finally taken over by a monopolistic Company of the Staple at Calais, which controlled prices and the export trade

and levelled out the profits over a wider area. "The compromise in which the constitutional and financial crisis of the fourteenth century ended depressed the apex, whilst it broadened the foundations, of the English middle classes."

Students of English Catholic life will find here much grist for their mill. The principal figures in the wool trade are, inevitably, the principal benefactors of those medieval churches which are still the glory of the English countryside. Their brasses and other monuments still bear witness to their piety; and from the ranks of the wool merchants came some of the most notable figures in the English Church. William Lyndewood, greatest of English canonists, was the son of John Lyndewood, a wealthy woolman who took his name from the village of Linwood in the great sheep-rearing county of Lincolnshire. But the monasteries, especially the Cistercian houses, take the lead in this wool trade.

Two early lists (one Flemish, one Italian) have survived, in which the English sheep-farming monasteries have been listed and classified for the benefit of foreign buyers, who came across the Channel to get wool for the clothiers of Bruges or Ghent or Florence. Italian buyers were especially active in the latter period, and the Company of the Staple was finally organised to ensure control of this export trade, through the great market of Calais, for English buyers. Up to the middle of the fourteenth century much of this work had been done by Italian buyers, who were often at the same time active as collectors of papal taxes. For the Pope, like the King, found it convenient to have his taxes paid in wool. A good deal of the English anti-papal feeling which is so vocal through all this century may be traced to this source. English merchants have never been content to stand idly by whilst liquid wealth—in wool or cash—passes into foreign hands beneath their eyes. Here, as in the matter of royal taxation, Parliament spoke for the middle classes of the English nation. When Henry VIII wished to force a breach with Rome, he found an apt instrument to hand in a statute which had been passed by an anti-papal Parliament of Edward III. Wool, like oil or coal, can lead to unforseen international complications. A. G.

THE HABSBURG MONARCHY, 1815-1918. *A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary.* By A. J. P. Taylor. London: Macmillan. 1941. Pp. 316. 15s.

For the sub-title of his excellent book on the Habsburgs Mr. Taylor might very well have chosen the phrase: "A Study in Compromise." Through all their history they compromised: "it was enough," as the author says of the Taaffe period, "to get to the end of a session without worrying what would happen at the end of a decade." Their

every immediate gain was paid for in ultimate loss, and the shroud in which Mr. Taylor consigns the ex-emperor Charles to his exile had been seven centuries a-weaving.

While lesser writers have fallen into the uninviting trap of over-dramatising the Habsburg story, Mr. Taylor for the most part allows it to unfold itself. When he does intervene, it is skilfully to keep the thread from losing itself in the labyrinth of the subject peoples ; for his business is with the Habsburgs themselves rather than their subjects. Thanks to his capable artistry and clarity of purpose, the shroud, to borrow his own rather gruesome metaphor, never becomes a Joseph's coat. The failure of many historians of the Austrian Empire has been due not so much to their ignorance of history as to their blindness to geography. Any more than nodding acquaintance with the peoples of central Europe must show the futility of the all too common nationalities map with its neatly marked divisions in red and blue and green. And only the finest feeling for history can evaluate the various levels of cultural rebirth and the bewildering complexity of the degrees of national consciousness during the years from Vienna to Versailles.

Mr. Taylor succeeds better than most in that difficult evaluation, for the principle on which he builds it is sound. The movement of the agricultural populations into the towns he holds to have been the basic factor determining Austrian history in the period in question. It was that movement which gave a form and coherence to the vague national aspirations of the peoples, and hand in hand with it went the rise of Industrialism. No two writers will agree on all the causes of the Habsburg downfall. But high among them must rank two of the most disastrous of Francis Joseph's compromises—the compromise with Industrialism and the compromise of 1867 with Hungary. How far that monarch himself was to blame is harder of assessment, and to many Mr. Taylor's appraisal of that unhappy tragic figure will appear harsh and unsympathetic. A writer on the reign of Francis Joseph might do worse than meditate on those four sad coffins that lie by that of Francis in the Kaisergruft. The historian can fail by over-objectivity. There is pathos in the Habsburg shroud.

Readers with sympathy for the Magyars and the Poles will find it rather rudely shaken in the course of Mr. Taylor's narrative. For impartial history must convict them of many of the crimes of which they accused the Habsburgs. Their treatment of the non-historic nationalities makes unpleasant reading. Against the rather murky background of Hungarian politics the noble figure of Deák stands out in bright relief. It is not one of the least of the tragedies of modern Europe that the Kossuths have replaced the Deáks in the affections of their peoples. The part played in the downfall by the Germans of the racial borderlands deserves greater stress. Wounded in their

pride by the concessions to the Slavs and the Czechs in the Taaffe ministry, they infected with their discontent the already disgruntled mass of German bureaucrats. And it was their political descendants who laid the axe to the last feeble root of Austrian independence in our own day. What Conrad Heiden has recently written might well have been written in the era of Badeni or Taaffe : " Hitler rejected Vienna as ' the incestuous city ' and praised the German-Austrian because his thoughts were ' more than great '."

The fruits of these ' more than great ' thoughts are being garnered by the Europe of the moment, and what the final harvest will be no man can say. And yet one feels that in a new world Austria will again find its place as a cultural *Ostmark* and the Austrians their heritage as the *wahre Gross-Deutschen*. Zagreb doubtless will never again be Agram ; Llubljana, in a desperate attempt to serve its two masters, may become Laibacho ; Split is already Spalato. And the Habsburgs do seem to have made their final bow on the stage of European politics. But surely, unless indeed the Spenglerian doom be already at the gates, a new Europe must find place for a new Austria. D. O'S.

ANALECTA HIBERNICA. Two Diaries of the French Expedition 1798. Edited by Nuala Costello, M.A. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1941. 174 pp. 7s. 6d.

It is heartening to find that, despite the unfavourable conditions of the time, the Irish Manuscripts Commission continues its good work in the field of historical research. Its latest publication, dealing with a comparatively recent period in our history, has for its subject the partial insurrection precipitated by the landing of a French expeditionary force in Mayo in August 1798. That force arrived when the uprising in Wexford, Kildare and elsewhere had been crushed and when the country was cowed into submission—or seemed to be—by measures so ruthless that their memory is still a living one in the national consciousness.

Two of the officers of the expedition, Fontaine and Sarrazin, on returning to their own country, immediately published their experiences in the short-lived campaign in Ireland. These accounts, though interesting, are often inaccurate and at times fantastic. For one thing, they tend, naturally enough perhaps, to magnify their own deeds and those of their countrymen while minimising or ignoring those of their Irish comrades. One of the officers of the expeditionary force, the Irish priest Henry O'Kane, did write, on arriving back in France, an account of the campaign, but his manuscript, written partly in Irish and partly in French, was unfortunately lost. In the latest volume issued by the Irish Manuscripts Commission (*Analecta Hibernica*—No. 11) are published the impressions of the campaign

in Ireland penned at the time by Captain Jobit, an officer of the expeditionary army. His manuscript, which has lain in the municipal archives of Brest for nearly one hundred and forty years, is ably edited in the *Analecta* by Miss Nuala Costello, who has added helpful notes and comments. (Her continuous reference to Musgrave's notorious *History* of the period as authoritative is, however, more than curious—one remembers Lecky's description of it as malevolent, and one thinks too of Lord Cornwallis's spurning with disdain the proposal to dedicate to him such a work).

Jobit's account of his experiences is fuller and more interesting than that of either Fontaine or Sarrazin. Like theirs, it is inaccurate on many points, while like them, too, he fails to do justice to the part played by the young men of the west and midlands who flocked to the French flag. In the engagement at Collooney, for example, the decisive defeat of the English force was primarily due to the heroism and clever tactics of the Irish allies of the little French army. His account is vitiated, too, in many pages by the aspersions he throws on the character and military skill of Humbert the Commander-in-Chief, with whom he continually clashed during the campaign. Jobit's conduct as times amounted to mutiny—Humbert, indeed, had him courtmartialled on their return to France, where he was temporarily deprived of his commission.

The second and much larger part of this volume of the *Analecta* comprises a hitherto unpublished *Diary* by the Rev. James Little, Protestant rector of the parish of Lacken near Killala at the time of the French landing. It is largely an echo of Bishop Stock's malevolent pamphlet and of Musgrave's equally malevolent *History*. Its jibes at Irish nationalism, at Catholicism, and its calumnies regarding the insurgents make it beneath notice here. One can only express surprise that the Manuscripts Commission should devote Irish money to the publication of this travesty on our country. How much fitter, and how much more valuable for students of the period, it would be if the Commission had, instead of this vulgar diatribe, published the vivid contemporary MSS. on the 1798 Insurrection which were left by the Carmelite monk, Luke Cullen, and which lie mouldering in the archives of Trinity College.

R. H.

STATUTE ROLLS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND. Edward IV. Part II. Edited by James F. Morrissey. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1939 (1941). 25s.

THIS volume (the fourth in its series) contains the text of the ten Rolls and a number of incomplete fragments, which date from Edward II 12/13 to the last year of that King's reign. The volume has been produced by Mr. James Morrissey of the Public Record Office, though

work on it was begun by the late Dr. Henry F. Berry (Twiss) before his retirement from the Record Office in 1912. The fire of 1922 destroyed the original Rolls, as well as the translation of the text which had been made by the Record Commissioners in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. A new translation was prepared by the late Dr. C. J. MacGarry, who died in 1936. The transcripts of the Rolls from which the text is printed had been made by Dr. Berry, who died in 1932. Mr. Morrissey now contributes a learned Preface, with a summary of the most notable facts mentioned in these documents. Publication of the work was further delayed by a fire in the printing works of Messrs. Browne and Nolan, in August, 1935, which destroyed the type of the text and translation of the Statutes. Duplicate proofs had been preserved in the Record Office; and the pages of the present volume have been produced by photo-lithographic process from these revised proof-sheets. Mr. Morrissey is to be congratulated on the perseverance which he has shown in carrying his task through in the face of so many unforeseen obstacles.

The last quarter of the fifteenth century is a period of extreme decline in the small Anglo-Irish world which was subject to the law of these Irish Parliaments. Hence it must be confessed that these Rolls give a depressing view of the problems with which the Anglo-Irish colony was faced under Edward IV. The student of technical parliamentary procedure will find matter here for his arguments; but the student of general Irish history will find less. The defence of the Pale was plainly a matter of constant concern. English merchants trading in Dublin were permitted to form a special gild "in the chapel of Mary of Grace near the bridge of Dublin" (1479-80); but some Irish merchants who had gone to England for purposes of trade in 1472 were arrested at Chester and elsewhere. The Irish Parliament gave power to their friends in Ireland to detain any merchant or person of England until the Irish traders in England were set at liberty. An Act of 1478 ordains that, since the Red Bog of Allen is common and free to all men to take turf therein, but lately certain gentlemen have taken an eighth from every cartload coming from the said bog, no man in future is to vex anyone drawing turf from the bog in that county. There is nothing of any regulation to limit the export of such turf to Dublin.

I have succeeded in noting only one picturesque villain: one Dr. Marcellus of Rome, a Doctor of Laws, whom the Italian Archbishop of Armagh, Primate Octavian, found causing trouble at Termonfechin, where he had released an Irish prisoner from jail. His skill in Canon Law was such that he succeeded in causing strife between the Archbishop of Dublin and the Dean of St. Patrick's, so that the services in the Cathedral were curtailed—"and on the vigil of St. Patrick there

were no Vespers in that church, a most piteous thing for any man to hear who is a native of this land." The doctor found refuge with the Prior and Brethren of Kilmainham, but was finally dislodged and expelled from the country by Act of Parliament in 1474.

A. G.

Science

ROGER BOSCOVICH, S.J. Forerunner of Modern Physical Theories. By Henry V. Gill, S.J., M.A., M.Sc. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1941. 7s. 6d.

It would be well for intending purchasers of this book to take note of the sub-title. To-day a Carmelite Prioress told me that, being in search of spiritual reading for her nuns, she had ordered the life of a Jesuit which she had seen in Gill's list—his name was something like Robert Bolshevik—but when it arrived it proved to be full of scientific formulae and diagrams, and altogether unsuitable for Carmelite reading.

But to those who take some interest in modern physical theories the book is extraordinarily interesting; for it shows how deeply modern scientific research is in debt to this Dalmatian Jesuit natural philosopher of two hundred years ago. This is particularly true of modern theories of the atom. These date from the discovery of the electron by J. J. Thomson in 1897. In the theory of the atom which Thomson developed he professedly based himself on the ideas of Boscovich; and Father Gill quotes Professor Soddy in 1940 for the statement that this early theory is "the really fruitful idea which seems destined to survive."

Father Gill himself is peculiarly well qualified to speak on this subject, for he worked under J. J. Thomson in the Cavendish Laboratory, and assisted the New Physics at its birth. He is himself known in the scientific world as the originator of more than one novel and fruitful idea, in particular of a remarkable theory about earthquakes, borne out by a series of wonderfully ingenious yet very simple experiments.

In the last chapter of the book Father Gill makes a bold and—*salvo meliore judicio*—what seems a convincing application of Boscovich's theory to the subject of light, and in particular to the interference of very feeble radiation, a stumbling-block for the Quantum Theory and for Wave Mechanics. Altogether the work, which makes really very easy reading considering the difficulties of the subject, is profoundly interesting; and even professors of Theoretical Physics may find much profit from its perusal.

But, in spite of ten vivid pages of biography at the beginning, it could not possibly be recommended to Carmelite nuns.

M. F. E.

DIE WELTRAUMSTRAHLUNG (KOSMISCHE STRAHLUNG) UND IHRE BIOLOGISCHE WIRKUNG. Von J. Eugster und V. F. Hess. Zürich: Orell Füssli Verlag. 1940. 200 pages. 56 figures and tables.

On a first perusal this appears to be two distinct books, one by the Physicist (Prof. Hess), the other by the Biologist (Dr. Eugster). But the latter lays great stress on the need he has felt for close co-operation with the former, and he wishes to give it further expression by having both works published in one volume.

Hess begins with a short history of the discovery of cosmic rays—at one time called Hessian rays—and then he gives an excellent summary of all that has been found out about them during the last thirty years. Early in the present century it was known that radioactive substances emit alpha-rays (positively charged particles of the mass or weight of the helium atom), beta-rays (negatively charged particles about 7,000 times lighter, called electrons), and gamma-rays (electromagnetic waves comparable to the shortest X-ray waves). The ionization or charging with electricity which continually takes place, even in an enclosed volume of air, was attributed to these rays from radioactive substances in the soil and in the atmosphere close to the soil; but in 1910 Father Wulf, S.J., concluded, from his experiments on the Eiffel Tower, that there must be some other source of gamma-rays in the upper atmosphere. Inspired by these experiments and using an improved Wulf Electrometer, Hess in 1912 made ten balloon-ascents to a height of over five kilometers and proved that a much more penetrating radiation enters the earth's atmosphere, day and night, from outer space. Attempts to locate its source in one of the constellations of the heavens failed, but the study of its properties quickly developed. Hess describes the four chief types of instrument used for this purpose by physicists all over the world, mentioning among the countries and workers responsible for the earliest constant observations: "Irland (Nolan)."

In 1931 the positron (a positively charged particle of the same mass as an electron) was discovered. The absorption of the rays in the atmosphere was then better understood. It appears that when a photon, or wave-packet, associated with a primary cosmic ray impinges on an atomic nucleus, it expels a positron and an electron or even a "shower" of these particles. These in turn give rise to secondary photons of less energy but still capable of releasing further electrons on coming in contact with atomic nuclei, and so on. Ionization represents the final stage of absorption. In 1935 the existence of the mesotron (a positively or negatively charged particle about 200 times the mass of an electron) was suspected, and during recent years its track has often been photographed in the Wilson Cloud Chamber.

It seems probable that these unstable particles are produced by the primary rays at an altitude of about 16 kilometers. Some of them penetrate to the surface of the earth, there producing, on collision with atoms, those larger " showers " or " explosions " of smaller particles which have occasionally been observed.

Since 1935 about 200 papers have appeared each year, in scientific journals, on the subject of cosmic rays. Hess summarises their results, mentioning the most important workers by name. The intensity of cosmic radiation varies greatly. At a height of 25 kilometers above sea-level it is increased 200-fold ; at a depth equivalent to 1 kilometer in water there are only traces of its most penetrating component. The intensity also decreases by one-tenth as we proceed from regions near the magnetic poles towards the geomagnetic equator. Because of this magnetic effect Hess always speaks of the primary cosmic rays as charged particles, not as uncharged waves. Various hypotheses as to the source of the rays have been put forward. The spontaneous change of atoms into radiant energy is rejected by Hess as insufficient. The initial explosion of the expanding Lemaître universe ; the magnetic fields of the double stars ; the new stars or Novae which to the number of six a year suddenly flame up and quickly die down—all these have been proposed as power-houses for the required energy.

If we consider the individual particles which rain on the surface of the globe we find that half of them have energies in the region of 10^9 electron-volts (0·0016 erg), having already lost twice as much energy in passing through the atmosphere. The most penetrating are estimated as having 10^{12} or 10^{15} electron-volts. The photons of solar radiation are incomparably weaker, but they are so thickly crowded together that their combined power is a million times that of cosmic radiation. If the sun's rays be compared to a prolonged shower of hail over a wide area, the few scattered strokes of lightning which accompany it would represent the cosmic rays. The secondary rays could be thought of as the shrapnel from a bomb that happened to be hit by the lightning—every atom being a potential bomb. Or to express it otherwise : if cosmic rays were as concentrated as the X-rays in daily use in hospitals, they would burn up every living thing on the face of the earth. Fortunately for men of peace such a " death ray " is not likely to be produced in our laboratories : scientists are at their wits' end to discover a sufficiently powerful source for it anywhere in the universe. Cosmic rays are continually passing through our bodies, producing 70 pairs of ions every second and exploding an atom every ten minutes ; yet it requires delicate instruments to detect them and long experiments under special conditions to produce any organic change by their means. That they could be the agent of the stars in guiding the destinies of men may be an inspiring notion

for dabblers in astrology, just as the death-ray is for the novelist; scientists regard such notions with an indulgent smile. The vagaries of the weather present a much more serious problem for us, nor has any coroner been known to suggest "death by cosmic ray."

In "Biological Effects of Radiation," a two-volume collection of 43 papers by American scientists published by McGraw-Hill in 1936, there is scarcely any mention of cosmic rays. Most of the work which Eugster summarises and tabulates, before presenting his own investigations, dates from the time when this book was planned. The researches carried out by himself and his several collaborators are a model of methodical procedure. He chose representative material from the plant and animal kingdoms: bacteria, the seeds of flowering plants, the fruit-fly (Drosophila melanogaster) and the rabbit. He protected some samples of each from the action of the rays; others he exposed to intensified radiation. It was chiefly the secondary rays, the "showers," he considered: these he could greatly increase by placing a sheet of lead about half-an-inch thick over the dishes, boxes and cages that contained his specimens. The experiments varied in length from six months to three years.

The results can be briefly summarised. In the case of the bacterium-cultures it was possible to determine, by photographic methods, which colonies had come under the influence of a "shower" of secondary radiation: it was found that all these were greatly retarded in growth. The seeds which had been exposed to intensified radiation for over a year germinated earlier than the "controls," but developed into much smaller and weaker plants. The fruit-flies showed an increase in fertility up to the eighth generation, followed by a decrease. The development of young rabbits was somewhat retarded; mature rabbits showed various degrees of sterility, including degeneration of the follicle epithelium in the ovary. In none of the above cases, nor in further experiments with mice, could any hereditary mutation be traced to the influence of cosmic rays; the changes observed were due either to somatic mutations or to injury.

Since other forms of radiation are widely used in the treatment of disease, Eugster was not content with these experiments on normal organisms. He obtained from the Curie Institute in Paris some white mice of a race which rapidly develops cancerous tumours. These he bred for several generations and then kept either in an environment of intensified secondary radiation or in one which was entirely protected from it. The result of his observations on over 500 mice was surprising: those exposed to the "showers" showed a marked increase in susceptibility to cancer, while the protected animals showed a decided decrease. He had already noticed that regenerative tissue is stimulated by cosmic rays: now it seemed that the reaction of the tumour

cell to cosmic radiation differed greatly from that of the normal cell.

It might seem that the results are very small in comparison with the painstaking and patient efforts of Eugster and his fellow-workers. But it must be remembered that this is a comparatively new field of research and a difficult one at that. X-rays can be produced by electrical means; the gamma-rays used in radiotherapy cannot be produced, but they can be applied in various doses by means of tubes and needles of radium salts; cosmic rays must be taken as nature provides them—their intensity can be only slightly modified, and their action is so feeble that only prolonged exposure gives appreciable biological effects. Eugster's experiments are the most prolonged on record. Every additional piece of scientific information helps towards a better understanding of the whole subject of organic reaction to radiation.

The book is a welcome publication. It shows great care and taste in production: the print is pleasing, the tables are well ordered and very informative, all the figures are clear and most helpful, while the photographs are well chosen to stimulate and maintain interest. Indeed there is no lack of interest either for the specialist or for the scientifically minded; the layman will find very little that he would consider too technical; the student will find a pleasant change from his text-books.

An Appendix to the book gives a generous supply of neatly tabulated extracts from the records, which are an invaluable guide for future workers in the same field.

Tourists will remember the suspension-railway from Innsbruck to the height of Hafelekar, from which they could scan the Karwendel slopes for chamois or allow the gaze to wander across the Inn valley towards the Stubai Alps and the Brenner Pass. Few will have enquired about the low building almost beside them, the Observatory founded by Hess ten years ago; still fewer will have peeped within to see unfamiliar instruments, many of them covered with slabs of lead; nor will many have visited the salt mine—once used by the Romans—about ten miles away. These were the scenes of the labours of the authors of this book, till about the time of the Anschluss. Since that time they continued and concluded some of their experiments at the observatory on the Jungfraujoch and in Zürich, where Dr. Eugster now lectures. Professor Hess's address is given as Fordham University, New York.

BRENDAN LAWLER

Miscellaneous

FROM GOD TO GOD. By the Rev. Stephen J. Brown, S.J. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1940. Pp. 326. 7s. 6d.

FATHER BROWN has chosen a striking title; but he adds to it a subtitle: "An Outline of Life," so that both together fairly describe

the scope of his excellent book. He leads us from thoughts of God as our First Beginning, full of fatherly care for His children who are facing life, to the consideration of God as our Last End, with a fatherly welcome in the home He has prepared for us. And in between he touches on almost every subject which could concern the ordinary Catholic layman throughout the course of his life.

The book consists of seven sections, in each of which a general theme is discussed in about fifteen short chapters. Thus the first three sections treat of men as children of God placed in this world, as closely bound to Christ by many ties, and as members of the Church. All speculative theological questions are omitted; what is too difficult to the understanding will hardly move the heart. Instead, the truths of our faith are considered from the point of view of what they mean to us and what colouring we should let them give to our outlook on life. Many erroneous ideas are gently corrected; many thoughts which the catechism and prayerbooks might suggest are developed and simply expressed. The next two sections deal with the "outer" life, things which claim the attention of every man because of the environment of the world in which he lives. Religion, work, money, recreation —things which require planning; joy and sorrow, ourselves and others, character, youth and age—things which we can less easily change; these and many other subjects are discussed. Parents and teachers will find much common-sense and experience recorded here for use when an appeal to religious principles does not make a sufficient impression. The last two sections cover the "inner" life of grace, prayer and piety, and the last things. Again the endeavour is to give a simple outline of fundamentals and a corrective to the wrong notions which keep so many from these serious thoughts.

Those who feel that they would like an antidote to all the merely secular books and magazines that come their way will find a fund of easy reading in this book. It can be dipped into anywhere according to the desire of the moment; each chapter stands by itself (many have appeared as short articles before), yet all make up a well-ordered series. The style is simple and pleasing, enriched with a wealth of suitable quotations from Holy Scripture and from the poets. Nor does Father Brown fail to recommend other books with fuller fare for the appetite which he constantly stimulates. BRENDAN LAWLER

CONGO DOCTOR. By W. E. Davis. London: Robert Hale. 1941. 12s. 6d.

Congo Doctor, in its fifteen chapters, gives an interesting account of an American doctor's experiences and impressions during ten years of service in the Belgian Congo. After having tried various careers, Dr. Davis finally decided to take up work as a medical missionary in

Africa. The Protestant communion to which he belonged sponsored his studies, which he completed at Northwestern University and at the Garfield Hospital in Chicago.

It is not unworthy of note that in recent years quite a number of medical men have taken to writing and some of them have achieved remarkable success. There would not seem to be compatibility between the practice of medicine and the pursuit of a literary career. Medical studies do not stimulate the imagination and doctors lead a very busy life. Yet from the pens of medical men, especially in recent years, have come some quite remarkable and noteworthy contributions to literature. *Congo Doctor* takes its place quite easily amongst these interesting works. Readers who are interested in missionary enterprise, and indeed readers who are not, will pass several pleasant hours in turning over the pages of *Congo Doctor.*

Dr. Davis, partly to give a fixity to his own impressions of African life and partly to give his readers an interest in the pagan world, set himself to present as vivid a pen picture as possible of life in the Congo. He envisaged that life mainly from the point of view of its reactions to the impact of twentieth century civilisation. Throughout he is keenly alive to the strange problem presented by the violent juxtaposition of ways and manners that are prehistoric and ways and manners that reflect accurately a highly sophisticated age. His deep sympathy with the native mind makes him keenly alive to the difficulties the African must experience in adjusting himself to a civilisation which has been the growth of centuries, without the advantage of the slow and gradual preparation necessary to make such an adjustment easy. Long ages of development lie between two things which the recent opening up of Africa has placed side by side. It is not surprising that it is extremely difficult for the European to understand the African. Both may use the same terms. The implication for each may be widely different. The Congolese who uses French and English words has not necessarily the same ideas that these words convey to the minds of Frenchmen or Englishmen.

Congo Doctor treats but lightly the psychological problems presented by this situation. It could not be otherwise. The clinical work that Dr. Davis was called on to do was of staggering proportions. It left little time for anything but the most summary kind of observation. In one chapter he describes a typical *tournée* through his district. It took twelve days, during which he cycled 420 miles and medically examined 59 villages! This total of 420 miles does not include many miles on foot across fourteen swamps and great stretches by canoe along the river. In one year, at the head station, he performed 540 major operations. But such observations as this extremely busy life permitted are shrewd and sympathetic. Those who know

Equatorial Africa will find his sketches of the native life and its jungle-setting very vivid and accurate. The political officers and the traders are revealed in a kindly and human light. *En passant* he pays tribute to the excellence of the Belgian administration.

The author gives slight glimpses of the missionary activities directly concerned with the teaching of the Gospel. It is to be regretted that he does not show how his work as a medical man, working under the auspices and in the interest of a Missionary Society, favours the spread of Christianity. The strenuous labours of him and his assistants relieved an enormous amount of physical suffering and saved numbers of human lives in the course of those ten years. But if these were the only results won by the praiseworthy efforts of the medical men, there would be nothing to distinguish the work of the missionary doctor from that of the doctor carrying out the humanitarian designs of the Government. Missionary societies would scarcely devote so much attention and so much money to the formation of medical auxiliaries unless they saw in them a very valuable aid to their main work. If their view in this matter is justified by the consequences that flow from the medical benefits conferred on the natives, it would be interesting to be shown how this happens. The pages of *Congo Doctor* do not throw much direct light on this. Something is said of the decay of the influence of the native "Witch Doctor" that necessarily follows from the rising prestige of the qualified medical practitioner. This operates indirectly towards the undermining of the pagan mentality. The strength of the hold of paganism—or fetishism, to use the proper term—is due to the fact that it strikes its roots deep into customs that centre round birth and death. The work of the medical missionary discredits these customs, and thus takes away one of the strong buttresses of the pagan way of life.

Of course the force of the Gospel has not declined with the ages, and it is this force which is directly smashing down the strong defences that Satan has, without interference, been able for centuries to construct about his stronghold in Central Africa. Strangely enough Dr. Davis, a Protestant Missionary, judges, after his experience, that Catholicism has much greater appeal to the native than Protestantism. A Catholic, however, would assign for this reasons other than those given by the author. It is surprising to find Dr. Davis imbued with the prejudices of the outmoded Evolutionism that holds as possible the natural development of rational man from the irrational animal. The unenlightened African has too much common sense not to shrink from such a theory as being both absurd and repellent.

Congo Doctor contains some observations on the maladies to which the native is chiefly exposed. There is something essentially dramatic in a doctor's struggle against disease; the drama is heightened when

the struggle is against the strange and exotic complaints common to the tropical climate. Much more information than Dr. Davis gives would have been welcome on this theme. E. LEEN

THE STEPS OF HUMILITY. By Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. Translated, with Introduction, Notes and a Study of his Epistemology, by George Bosworth Burch. Cambridge (U.S.A.): Harvard University Press. London: Milford. 1940. 16s. 6d.

ONE of the most hopeful symptoms for modern thought, both religious and philosophical, is its increasing interest in medieval thought. Even if this interest were purely historical, it would be welcome after the indifference it has succeeded. But it is more than historical or purely scholarly; it is an interest in the *value* of medieval ideas for the moral and religious life of our time. One of the chief influences in this movement is M. Etienne Gilson of the Collège de France; and it is perhaps not without significance that St. Bernard's *De Gradibus Humilitatis* is edited by a member of the staff of Harvard, where Mr. Gilson has been a lecturer on medieval philosophy. Certainly Mr. Burch's interest in St. Bernard is not that of pure scholarship; his admiration for the great Saint and mystic is shown throughout the book and is expressed warmly in the preface. "Divine Wisdom is to worldly wisdom what reality is to illusion, and love is to desire what understanding is to faith. There are many who love the wisdom of the world, and there are many who desire the Wisdom of God. Bernard was one of the few who truly love the true Wisdom and are therefore truly called Philosophers."

The Steps of Humility is called by Mabillon *primus Bernardi fetus;* but Mr. Burch maintains that the great Benedictine scholar has wrongly read the words *primum opus illius* by making *primum* an adjective, whereas it is an adverb and does not refer to the order of composition of the works but the order in which they might be read with a view to a special knowledge of the author. But whatever its place chronologically, the *De Gradibus Humilitatis* has a high place in the order of value among St. Bernard's works and shows the ascetic, the mystic, the man of letters almost at his finest and best. Mr. Burch has prefixed a full and valuable study of St. Bernard's epistemology pieced together from different works. As the steps of humility are steps in knowledge and as the ladder of humility reaches finally the broad spaces (*latitudinem*) of love, an exposition of the Saint's theory of knowledge and of the soul was appropriate. This essay makes us realise vividly that a century separates St. Bernard from St. Thomas; that Augustinism is the dominant influence in the twelfth century; that the Aristotelian revolution which St. Thomas achieved is still far away. St. Bernard's epistemology and psychology strike us at once as being less firm, less coherent, less true to experience than the system which St. Thomas

will expound later. In his philosophy and in his attitude to philosophy St. Bernard is clearly *ultimus inter Patres*. But Mr. Burch maintains that in his attitude towards the great question of these centuries, the relation of faith to understanding, " we can say that Abelard was the last of the Fathers and Bernard the first of the Scholastics."

This treatise on humility is a spiritual classic, written with all the spiritual depth, unction, and elegance of one of the richest minds of the middle ages. Mr. Burch has done his work in a competent and scholarly way. He has made a close study of many of St. Bernard's works. The translation is accurate and aims at catching something of the pointed succinctness of the original. But it would be very difficult for an uninflected language like English to achieve the compression, the balance and contrast of St. Bernard's Latin, which is indeed a wonderful medium, a true living language—fresh, flexible, responsive to every shade of thought and emotion of the author, and yet retaining much of the old Roman strength and impressiveness. In a few cases, into which it is unnecessary to enter, Mr. Burch's translation may be questioned.

Mr. Burch has done his work as editor with a diligence, sympathy and scholarship which are evident on every page. Hence it is distinctly disconcerting to come upon some philosophical interpretations of St. Bernard's thought which would certainly have shocked him and which he would have rejected as vigorously as he rejected the errors of Abelard. It is surely something much more serious than an anachronism to explain the philosophic position of an eleventh century saint and mystic in terms of the subjective transcendentalism of Kant; to explain his doctrine of science by *a priori* categories of the intellect and his doctrine of mysticism by similar categories of the emotion or will; to speak of him as solving the solipsistic difficulty by acts of love and not of reason? Worst of all is the theological enormity—at which St. Bernard would have stopped his ears—of describing the Trinity in terms of that same subjectivism; by asserting that the relations between the three Divine Persons are those that are between appearance (the object of science), proximate reality (the object attained in mysticism) and ultimate reality. These extravagancies are to be regretted in a book otherwise so true to its subject.

But with that reservation this edition of *The Steps of Humility* may be warmly recommended. It brings the modern reader into contact with an astonishing genius who cannot fail to be an inspiration for every age. Certainly our own unspiritual age has much to learn from the great ascetic and mystic. It will also feel a special affinity with the man of letters, the humanist, the psychologist. Eloquence, pathos, unction, wit, we have been taught to expect from him; but perhaps not many would go to him for that psychological insight into

character, that interest in the individual as such which we think to be as lacking in the medieval mental structure as it is plentiful in our own. But *The Steps of Humility* contains a gallery of " characters "—the boastful man, the singular man, the vain man, etc.—which are sketched with a truth and fineness which have nothing to learn from the most realistic of modern novelists. H. K.

Tracts for the Times

OUR PRESENT DISCONTENT. By P. J. Smith.
MORALITY AND WAR. By Gerald Vann, O.P.
WHY GOD PERMITS EVIL. By Dom Bruno Webb, O.S.B.
MAN'S SUFFERING AND GOD'S LOVE. By Mgr. J. Messner.
THE HERESY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM. By Irene Marinoff.
London: Burns Oates. 1941. 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d., 2s., 2s., 3s. respectively.

THESE may be styled Tracts for the Times. They deal with burning topics of the hour. But they deal with them from the standpoint of that *philosophia perennis* which is for all time, and which is reaffirming its authority more and more as all recent aberrations from it are seen to lead to consequences so disastrous that the elementary instinct of self-preservation is forcing mankind to recoil from them.

Yet if the recoil is to be intelligent and fruitful it is necessary, first, that the errors be faithfully expounded and refuted; secondly, that the traditional standpoint be clearly explained—rescued, that is, from the misunderstanding of it which has been created by centuries of misrepresentation; finally, that this traditional standpoint be proved by valid argument. Further, it is most of all essential just now that all this be done in a language that men in general will understand and appreciate.

It may be said at once that all five volumes listed above aim at this and, in a very creditable manner, attain their end. Father Smith's little work is perhaps the most successful and the most valuable. Indeed it is a model of what such a pamphlet should be. It is simple, lucid and, though temperate and courteous in manner, very deadly in its arraignment of the ideologies that have driven the world mad. It is also honest and courageous. Fr. Smith has little difficulty in exposing the fallacies of Totalitarianism, whether in its Fascist, Nazi or Communistic disguise. (His merit here lies in the clarity and incisiveness of his criticism). But he is no less effective in his exposure of all the noisy falsettos and catch-cries that fill the air under the slogan of " democracy." The simple truth is, as he makes evident, that modern democracy has been founded on the false principles of Rousseau

and the Encyclopaedists. It has in effect stolen the ideals of Christianity, and then concentrated on eliminating the faith and the philosophy from which they sprang and without which they were bound to decay. It has undermined the moral code on which our civilisation rested, and has thus dug the grave of liberty. Even yet, in many quarters, men are pinning their faith upon this great pretender. Fr. Smith puts it beyond reasonable doubt that their faith will prove vain. Civilisation has been demoralised—more perhaps by Voltaire, Rousseau and their progeny than by any other influence. It must be morally reconditioned if it is to save even the body, not to speak of the soul. And that work must be accomplished by Christianity or it will not be done at all. The dilemma is clear-cut—the Reign of Christ in the hearts of men or the Reign of Violence continued unto the return of Chaos and old Night. It is impossible to read *Our Present Discontent* and say with intellectual honesty that a third alternative is discoverable.

Morality and War is a very different kind of book. It is a work of casuistry dealing with an acute moral problem, now that warfare is becoming endemic in our culture. It should be welcome to troubled consciences, though I cannot promise that it will solve the problem for all. Indeed its chief merit lies in this that it recognises the intractable difficulties besetting the question from the Christian point of view. The simplicist mind, of course, may settle the question in a minute. But it will, with equal vehemence and fanaticism, adhere to opposing solutions according to bias and prejudice.

Fr. Vann rightly rejects all such ready-reckoning, and points out the hundred and one delicate issues which must be weighed, sifted and balanced before a reasonable decision can be reached. He does not make up our minds for us. But he lays the data of judgment before us with an impartiality and an objectivity which cannot be overpraised. He is not what is known as a Pacifist. Indeed he shows the absurdity of telling any nation that it is bound to open its frontiers and surrender the keys of its cities to any raiding marauder who comes along. Yet he is so opposed to war, so mistrustful of any good it ever does or appears to do, that he ends with a half-hint, at least, that perhaps after all the best thing would be to go back into the Catacombs and meet the sword of the Caesar with the spirit of the martyrs. Even this statement may do him injustice unless one reads his whole exposition and sees that, if he does not dogmatise, it is simply because he understands so well the horribly tangled nature of the problem—particularly as it presents itself to-day—and prefers to state the issues judicially rather than decide them magisterially.

Dom Bruno Webb has the courage to tackle what is notoriously the most poignant difficulty Theism has to meet. To claim that he

answers it in such a way as to lift the mystery from it would be going too far. But he does give the Christian explanation with the knowledge and competence of a master. In particular, his exposition of the dogma of Original Sin is fine and just suited for the readers he has in view.

There is, however, one contention of his to which exception will be taken by many. When he claims that we must attribute the war that animals wage upon one another to the wickedness of the Fallen Angels working to bring into creation a disturbance not willed of God—except, of course, in the permissive sense—he is merely on hazardous ground. There is really no proof of this contention ; and it would hardly solve the difficulty if there were. Further, it would almost certainly invite the ridicule of the sceptic.

Is there any reason why we should not frankly confess that we have no entirely adequate explanation of evil—that, in short, there does exist a mystery of iniquity and that it remains a mystery ? But if anyone then argues, from this admission, that there is no God or that He is not good, is it not easy to recall to him the fact that we prove the existence of God and His attributes by metaphysical arguments which cannot be denied except by calling in question the principle of causality, which is analytical and immediately evident ? If this principle is called in question, the mind is prized off its hinges and it can no longer place the least trust in its own functioning. *All* its possible judgments, even the judgment that there is either good or evil in the world, can be doubted.

God is and God is good. That is certain with the highest certitude we can desire. Evil exists, and that, too, is certain, though not by any means as evident as the former assertion. The same thinker assents to both propositions in the order indicated and holds both to be true even if he cannot harmonise them. In point of fact there are thousands of things sufficiently proven to merit unhesitating acceptance—that is, certain assent—without our being in the least able to smooth out the antinomies they involve. And the reason is that, while every sane philosophy begins with the primary assumption that we can know truth and do know many truths (the universal relativism of the hour is a mere mental disease), no finite intellect knows all truth, or even any truth exhaustively—*i.e.*, in all its ramifications and relationships—and evil is one such truth partially understood by us.

Much may be said to mitigate the emotional trouble—it is not strictly intellectual—caused by the spectacle of our very mixed world. And Dom Bruno Webb says it admirably. But we must wait till we see God face to face before we perceive the solution of many mysteries in His providential governance of the world. Yet what of that ? We prove His existence, or we can prove nothing at all. And that once done—it only remains to say *Fiat voluntas tua.* This is taught

by reason and revelation alike. And meantime evil, in so far as it exists, is there to be faced with faith and courage as a consequence of Original Sin. In this way we can turn it to good account, as St. Augustine was never tired of inculcating.

Dom Bruno Webb himself ends on this note. But Monsignor J. Messner, in *Man's Suffering and God's Love*, might be said to begin and end on it. He hardly touches on the merely philosophical problem. Instead, he takes us straight to the theological solution. The whole mystery of pain and evil is lifted by revelation to a higher plane, and only on that plane can it be seen in its proper perspective. When so envisaged it loses its heart-breaking and despair-begetting quality. It is absorbed in the mystery of divine love as manifested in the Incarnation and the Crucifixion, just as St. Paul tells us that " Death is absorbed in victory " through the Resurrection of Christ.

To this the foolish retort is often made that this answer can only satisfy the believing Christian. But it is the precise contention of Christianity that nothing but the faith can cope with the difficulty, and that if we cannot believe we have no other option except to defy the gods after the manner of the ancient Stoics or sink into the calm despair of Buddhism—or commit suicide. *Man's Suffering and God's Love* is thus a religious book, a very beautiful and persuasive one, which will comfort and console many in these dark and evil days.

The Heresy of National Socialism is, under present circumstances, difficult to discuss without danger of trenching upon political issues, which our neutrality renders undesirable. Yet it ought to be quite possible to discuss the philosophy underlying any system without being taken as sitting in judgment on the policy or conduct of those who hold it. Now the National Socialism of Germany, known also as Naziism, does unambiguously claim to have a philosophy and theology, or at least a mythus and mysticism, of its own; and very decidedly both are heretical. Pius XI made this clear several years ago in his Encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge*. Irene Marinoff only goes more into detail and confirms it from many sources. She was well placed for the study of the movement, being a teacher in Germany during the years of its struggle to success. And she is not a special pleader or propagandist, but writes very objectively. More than most authors on this subject she enables us to understand it. It would be absurd to claim that she sympathises with Naziism. But she is not just judge, jury and hangman all in one, as so many others. Hers is a really welcome addition to the already large library on modern Germany, which has certainly become the " axis " of world history today.

P. J. Gannon.

LE PROBLEME DU MAL D'APRES SAINT AUGUSTIN. Par R. Jolivet. Paris : Beauchesne. 1937. pp. 172. 12 frs.

On the occasion of the fifteenth centenary of Saint Augustine—in 1930—a whole issue of the *Archives de Philosophie* was devoted to the teaching of the saint on the great problems of philosophy. Outstanding among these problems for St. Augustine was the Problem of Evil, and outstanding among his contributions to all these problems was his contribution on this most troublesome problem. In fact, he was the first ever to propound a rational and adequate solution of the problem ; and Christian apologists since have done little more than re-echo his solution. Hence, as might be expected, pride of place in the issue—reviewed in this journal—was given to an exposition of his studies on the Problem of Evil. Dr. Jolivet was the author of that exposition.

The present volume is a reprint of that essay as a separate book. Doubtless the reprint is due to the perennial actuality of the subject matter. The contents are as follows. Chapter I deals with the nature of evil. Here St. Augustine lays the foundation of his solution when he shows that evil is not something positive. Chapter II treats of the origin of evil, whether physical or moral. The Conclusion is devoted to tracing the dependence of this teaching on Neo-Platonism—and its independence too. In addition, the Providence of the Creator, despite the many flaws in His world, is vindicated—God allows evil in the world because out of that evil He can and always does draw some counterbalancing good. God is so far-seeing that He can tolerate sin and pain for the sake of the values that could not be realised except by creatures capable ot sin and pain. C. L.

(*The list of books received has been unavoidably held over.*)

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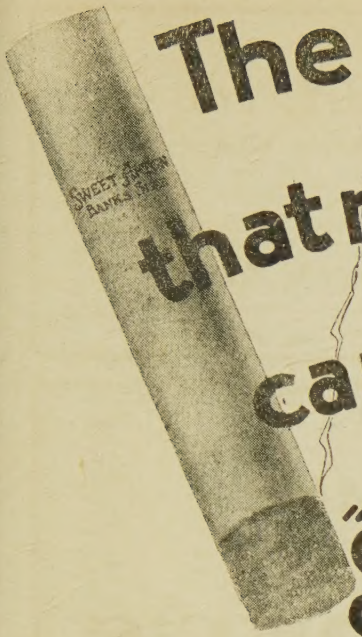

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